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PROCEEDINGS
of the
VERMONT
Historical Society

The Rise of Cornelius Peter Van Ness, 1782-1826
The Reverend Joel Winch—Pioneer Minister. II
Loyalists and Their Property
The Valley of the Kedron. *A Review*
The One Hundred and Fourth Annual Meeting
Postscript

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
MARCH
1942

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VERMONT

Historical Society

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NEW SERIES MARCH VOL. X NO. 1

THE RISE OF CORNELIUS PETER VAN NESS 1782–1826

By T. D. SEYMOUR BASSETT

Cornelius Peter Van Ness was a colorful and vigorous leader in a formative period of Vermont history, but he has remained in the dusk of that history. In this paper Mr. Bassett has sought to recall him and his activities and through him throw definite light on his eventful times. In this study Van Ness is brought to the dramatic months of his attempt in the senatorial election of 1826 to succeed Horatio Seymour. When Mr. Bassett has completed his research into that phase of the career of Van Ness, we hope to present the results in another paper. Further comment will be found in the Postscript. Editor.

INDIVIDUALISM is the boasted virtue of Vermonters. If they are right in their boast, biographies of typical Vermonters should reveal what individualism has produced. Governor Van Ness was a typical Vermonter of the late nineteenth century, but out of harmony with the Vermont spirit of his day. This essay sketches his meteoric career in administrative, legislative and judicial office, and his control

of Vermont federal and state patronage for a decade up to the turning point of his career, the senatorial campaign of 1826.[1]

His family had come to New York in the seventeenth century.[2] His father was by trade a wheelwright, strong-willed, with little book-learning. A Revolutionary colonel and a county judge, his purchase of Lindenwald, an estate at Kinderhook, twenty miles down the Hudson from Albany, marked his social and pecuniary success.[3] Cornelius was born at Lindenwald on January 26, 1782. His family's activity in politics for Jefferson and Burr developed his political aptitude and conditioned his political preference. His brothers went to Columbia, but, never fond of abstract learning, he chose a business career. He was soon drawn to the law; in 1804 he married, inherited on his father's death a few months later about $40,000,[4] and started practice at Kinderhook.

Profits and promotion could not be rapid at home, so he moved, in 1806, to St. Albans, Vermont, a booming village just back of the frontier in the Eastern Townships of Quebec.[5] Catering to northern Vermonters and Yankee pioneers across the border, and playing the

1. The parent biography of Van Ness is a three-column obituary by his intimate friend, George B. Sawyer, in the New York *Times* of January 8, 1853. David A. Smalley, who succeeded Van Ness as Democratic boss of Vermont, added to this obituary in Abby Maria Hemenway, ed., *Vermont Quarterly Gazetteer*, 5v. and index, Ludlow, Burlington . . . 1860-1891, 1:608-614. Of five Vermont biographical dictionaries published between 1885 and 1917, two include Van Ness, copying inaccurately from Sawyer or Smalley: Jacob G. Ullery, comp., *Men of Vermont*, Brattleboro, 1894, and Prentiss C. Dodge, ed., *Encyclopedia Vermont Biography*, Burlington, 1912. The *Dictionary of American Biography* included William P. Van Ness, brother of Cornelius and United States Judge of the Southern District of New York, and no other member of the family.

2. For information about the family, especially Cornelius's eldest brother, see Allen C. Clark, "General John Peter Van Ness, a Mayor of the City of Washington, his Wife, Marcia, and her Father, David Burnes," Columbia Historical Society *Records*, 22:125-204 (1919).

3. William P. Van Ness fell heir to Lindenwald, but a creditor took it over, and sold it to Martin Van Buren. John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., "The Autobiography of Martin Van Buren," Vol. 2 of American Historical Association *Annual Report . . . for . . . 1918*, 16-17.

4. Aaron Burr to Theodosia Alston, December 31, 1804, in *Memoirs of Aaron Burr, with Miscellaneous Selections from his Correspondence*, M. L. Davis, ed., 2v., New York, 1837, 2:253.

5. Marcus L. Hansen, *The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples*, Vol. I, *Historical*, comp. and prep. for pub. by John B. Brebner, New Haven, 1940, 70-74.

real estate market, was good business. Van Ness joined nine other practicing attorneys preoccupied with disputes over land titles.[6] St. Albans, with the best harbor in the county, promised to outstrip her more populous lakeshore rival, Georgia, when it was chosen shire town in 1800. It already had a jail, a courthouse, an academy, and a settled minister when Van Ness arrived.[7]

On the burning embargo issue of 1808, Van Ness and Asa Aldis, another lawyer immigrant from down country, took the unpopular Republican side. This position made them available for the prosecution of smuggling suits and eligible for federal office, but won the hatred of many whose very livings depended on this now illicit trade with Montreal. In the prosecution of the Black Snake smugglers, during the strenuous political campaign of 1808, Van Ness had the honor of assisting David Fay, United States District Attorney, and W. C. Harrington, States Attorney for Chittenden County.[8] This case was the most notorious of a group of smuggling cases crowding the court dockets for the next seven or eight years, because it involved the chase and capture of one of the most important potash smuggling boats, a murder trial, and a public execution. Until the Hudson-Champlain canal and the industrialization of the United States freed the Champlain Valley from dependence on the foreign port of Montreal, every border disturbance dominated local politics, like the smuggling from 1808 to 1815.

In 1809, Van Ness moved to Burlington, perhaps because his Republicanism hurt his private practice. The same year, the Federalist Benjamin Swift moved to St. Albans from Bennington, the stronghold of the Republican Fays and Robinsons. Burlington was scarcely any larger than St. Albans,[9] but Van Ness saw his main chance in moving. Judge Jonas Galusha of the Supreme Court was running against the Federalist Governor Isaac Tichenor, and it may have been understood among Republican insiders that Fay, the District Attorney, should succeed Galusha.

Galusha won, and Fay went to the bench, creating a vacancy for

6. Some of these doubtless earned part of their living in other ways. Hemenway, *Gazetteer*, 2:323, omits Seth Wetmore. Van Ness was also the ninth to be admitted to the Franklin County bar, during the August term, 1806. *Ibid.*, 2:93.

7. *Ibid.*, 2:292.

8. *Ibid.*, 1:467-468 and 2:342-347.

9. Burlington 1,689; St. Albans 1,606 in 1810. In 1820, however, Burlington 2,111; St. Albans 1,636. *Ibid.*, 1:474 and 2:102.

a lawyer experienced in smuggling cases, familiar with the border, and yet not so sympathetic with the borderers that he would hesitate to try cases affecting their pocketbooks. Van Ness had these qualifications, but at the age of twenty-eight he needed an influential friend at court. At this point, his family connections proved invaluable. He was recommended by Brockholst Livingston, in whose office his brother John had prepared for the bar, now on the United States Supreme Court with circuit duties including the District of Vermont. On receiving his appointment, Van Ness became the youngest, by almost ten years, of any who entered the office of District Attorney in the nineteenth century.[10] It may be thought that in those days, preferment could be expected much earlier than in more settled times, when the population contained more older, yet still active men. This is a general truth, yet all Vermont federal officeholders appointed before Van Ness were between four and twelve years older on the dates of their appointment.

When war with Britain broke, a new problem arose. Restrictions on trade with Canada had had no official relaxation since the end of 1807, but now, instead of breaking the Non-Intercourse Act, border smuggling became trading with the enemy. Times were hard without foreign trade; the Country was not united behind the President; customs revenue had dwindled; the army needed equipment which could not be had for love or money in the states. To observe the letter of the law, yet admit goods and receive revenue, the government permitted the British merchants at Montreal to operate behind a false front. One Monzuco, a neutral Latin, living in Burlington and operating the vessel *Saucy Fox*, took oath that he was the owner of the imported goods. Samuel Buell, collector of the port of Burlington, was replaced in 1813 by Van Ness, the youngest collector down to the World War, barring two whose birthdates are unknown, to handle this ticklish problem.[11]

10. *A List of the Principal Civil Officers of Vermont from 1777 to 1918*, John L. Comstock, ed., under the direction of the Secretary of State, being a revision and enlargement of *Deming's Vermont Officers;* 355. All other analyses of the age and tenure of Vermont officers, in this article, are derived from this compilation.

11. His enemies charged Van Ness in 1826 with venality in securing the job. Official correspondence concerning the change of collector does not exist; the customs files of the Treasury Department before 1833 have been burned. Fair copies of letters to collectors of small ports, in the National Archives, include no letters to the Burlington collector for the period, 1809-1817.

Van Ness was the heir apparent to Senator Robinson in dispensing Vermont patronage, for he was the leading Republican federal office-holder.[12] Elijah Paine, the Federalist District Judge, could have little influence with Madison. Van Ness had already been influential in turning cases over to Asa Aldis, the Republican leader of Franklin County, and his former colleague.[13]

Money, acquired and inherited, now made Van Ness affluent, as political power and money had made him influential. He was ready to put his capital to work for himself and his town. Burlington, as the concentration point of the Vermont militia, had the abnormal stimulation of government defense works, and the business of supplying the soldiers, to buttress it against the business uncertainties and invasion scares of the war years. It shared preeminence as a lake port on the Vermont shore with St. Albans and Vergennes, where McDonough built his fleet in the War of 1812. But as a pioneer in steam navigation, Burlington merited contemporary ridicule and later glory alone.[14] The *Vermont* was built in 1808, and after six years' operation, about as notable for breakdowns as carryings-on, it sank in the Richelieu in the fall of 1815.

While the *Vermont* was still carrying troops and stores to Plattsburg, Van Ness, with the Catlins of Burlington, Amos Barnum of Vergennes, and New York and Albany capitalists, secured a New York charter for the Lake Champlain Steamboat Company in 1813. They acquired the exclusive franchise for the New York waters of Lake Champlain indirectly from Fulton and Livingston, and launched the *Phoenix* in 1815. That fall, the Vermont Assembly completed the company's monopoly by granting an exclusive twenty-three year franchise for lake steam navigation to Barnum and Woodbridge of Vergennes, John Winans, the builder of the first *Vermont*, and Van Ness.[15] For over a decade, Van Ness was interested in lake steamboating.

He kept the office of collector until the appointment of Senator

12. Jonathan Robinson had become Madison's chief adviser on Vermont appointments, according to Walter H. Crockett, *Vermont, the Green Mountain State*, 5v., New York, 1921, 2: 611. However, there is no correspondence to or from Robinson in Gaillard Hunt, ed., *The Writings of James Madison*, 9v., New York, London, 1900-1910.

13. Hemenway, *Gazetteer*, 2: 323.

14. For the history of Lake Champlain transportation from 1791 to 1826, see Thomas H. Canfield's article in *ibid.*, 1: 670-693.

15. *Laws of Vermont*, 1815, 120-122.

James Fisk in 1817, although the year before Monroe had appointed him to the Northeastern Boundary Commission,[16] at a salary of about $4,500 a year.[17] In the fall of 1818, Van Ness prepared a report later conceded by Gallatin, who continued the negotiations, as concise, impartial, and sufficient to make its reader master of almost every point of the controversy. Less admirable were his persistent attempts to collect more salary than had been allotted to him.[18]

During his years as Boundary Commissioner, he found time to serve four terms in the General Assembly, 1818-21, achieving a reputation as a parliamentary leader at the outset by the way he handled the contest over the chartering of the Bank of Burlington. Teamed with a similar group in Windsor, the moneyed men of Burlington had been pressing for the incorporation of a bank since before 1803.

The strong Vermont tradition of hostility to banks and paper money was a serious obstacle to the inauguration of the Vermont private banking system.[19] The hostile attitude was as old as the hard times of 1785-86, when Vermont debtor-farmers sympathized with the followers of Daniel Shays in Massachusetts. In Rutland and Windsor Counties, attempts were made to stop the courts from rendering judgments in favor of creditors, who were mostly non-residents. Conditions were so desperate that the 1786 Assembly was preoccupied with currency problems. The popular referendum of the following January was a debtors' triumph. It turned down the legal tender act, and the proposals to establish a bank or pass a general money bill, but supported payment in kind by a nearly four to one majority.

Burlington and Windsor lost the next skirmish in 1803. The Assembly passed their charter bills, but after the Governor and Council

16. For a summary of the Commission's work, see Crockett, *Vermont*, 3: 147-152.

17. *Journal of the General Assembly of Vermont*, 1820, 27.

18. In the Van Buren papers of the Library of Congress are several long communications in which Van Ness argues the unconstitutionality of the Act of March 3, 1821, which reduced his salary. He also brought pressure to bear on President Adams, through Congressman William C. Bradley, of Westminster, Vermont, his colleague on the Commission. See John Quincy Adams, *Memoirs . . . Comprising Portions of his Diary from 1795 to 1848*, Charles F. Adams, ed., 12v., Philadelphia, 1874-1877, 6: 334, 466, 516.

19. See William P. Dillingham, "Banking Interests of Vermont," in *The New England States . . .* William T. Davis, ed., 4v., Boston, 1899, 3: 1472-1478.

non-concurred, referred them to the next session.[20] Nathaniel Niles of West Fairlee, spokesman for the Republican Councillors, assigned reasons for non-concurrence typical of the arguments of any debtor-farmer, repeated by Vermont Democrats until well after the Civil War. Here was formulated the perennial fear of the abuse of the control of money.

Bank bills, the argument ran, not being legal tender, would displace, like a drop into a bucket, an almost equal amount of legal tender. The seaports, and consequently the foreigners with whom they traded, would drain off the legal tender, and Vermonters farthest from Burlington and Windsor would suffer most. Yet easy credit, it explained in the next three points, would stimulate speculation at the expense of "those honest, honorable and sure sources of mediocrity and independence."[21] Gambling in Vermont real estate on credit had been a major occupation since the country was opened up; the Council viewed it with alarm. Frankly believing in an economic basis of politics, it stated its other objection:

> Banks have a violent tendency . . . to draw into the hands of the few, a large proportion of the property, at present, fortunately, diffused among the many; and in this way, straiten [*sic*] the circumstances of the many, and thus render them still more dependent on the few, and of course make them, thro' necessity, yet more subservient to their aspiring views: and by this means, the tendency of banks seems to be, to weaken the great pillars of a republican government, and, at the same time, to increase the forces employed for its overthrow.[22]

The stock arguments of any opposition, that the action was hasty and unconstitutional, were thrown in for good measure. Such novel proposals, probably involving a perpetual grant, needed more thorough investigation. Finally, a page straight out of Jefferson: the business of government was to protect property and promote the general welfare, not to foster speculation and to "direct the efforts of individuals."[23]

20. *Journal*, 1803, 235. Constitutionally, non-concurrence was a suspensory veto. At the next session, the Assembly could enact the same bill irrespective of the action of Governor and Council. See Daniel B. Carroll, "The Unicameral Legislature in Vermont," Vermont Historical Society *Proceedings*, n.s. 3: 14, 19-20, 65.

21. E. P. Walton, ed., *Records of the Governor and Council of the State of Vermont*, 8v., Montpelier, 1873-1880, 4: 390.

22. *Ibid.*, 4: 391.

23. *Ibid.*

In 1805, the House again chartered Burlington and Windsor banks, and again acquiesced in the non-concurrence of the Governor and Council. In the same year, the Vermont State Bank began its brief and unhappy career, plagued by the vicissitudes of business under embargo and war conditions, and vexed by hostile legislation in near-by states, and the failures and bad banking practices of individuals and other banks.[24]

Burlington businessmen declared that the removal of their branch of the State Bank to Woodstock in 1812, where it closed the following year, hurt business. More seriously affecting the situation was the shock of the re-opened Canadian trade to warborn industry.[25] Graver still was the total crop failure of 1816. Those who could, took cash for their land—unless the severe frosts had made it a frozen asset—and headed for the Ohio. A few speculators made money on the first imported grain, but few were lucky and many ruined. Conditions improved in 1817, but the export of money with the emigration was a trump for the bank party.

The current religious revival was a striking companion of hard times. Establishment of new churches had little more than caught up after the interruption of the war;[26] but religious enthusiasm swelled and membership rose. One of the new members of the First Calvinistic Congregational Church of Burlington was Cornelius P. Van Ness, received by profession of faith on May 18, 1817.[27] Four of his children, Cornelia, Marcia, Cornelius and John, were baptized on July 12, 1818.[28]

24. For several sessions, legislatures passed a number of private stay laws on behalf of the Bank's debtors, some of whom may not have repaid their obligations in full. See, for example, acts of suspension involving almost five thousand dollars in *Laws of Vermont*, 1818, 138-140. Seth Wetmore, one of Van Ness's fellow lawyers in St. Albans, was a notable defaulter. Hemenway, *Gazetteer*, 2: 314. See also Dillingham, "Banking Interests of Vermont," 3: 1477, and Crockett, *Vermont*, 2: 609.

25. For example, the Vergennes Iron Works. See the autobiography of Philip C. Tucker in Lee S. Tillotson, *Ancient Craft Masonry in Vermont*, Montpelier, 1920, 164-165.

26. From a list of dates of the establishment of churches, furnished by Rev. Samuel N. Bean, Supervisor of Church Records, Vermont Historical Records Survey, it appears that 69 were founded in 1808-12, 11 in 1813-15, and 78 in 1816-20.

27. MS. records of the First Calvinistic Congregational Church of Burlington, 1: 54.

28. *Ibid.*, 1: 235.

Governor Galusha praised the revival in his annual speech of 1817, but paid most attention to business conditions. "The deficiency of a circulating medium, owing to an increased emigration of our inhabitants to the west, who have converted their property into cash for transportation, and the unfruitfulness of past seasons, in addition to the common causes which uniformly produce a scarcity of money at the close of a war, has caused some serious embarrassments. . . ."[29] He added, in the spirit of his 1818 vote against the bank charters, that the cure was hard work and thrift, not "the ruinous system of paper credit."[30]

At the 1817 session, Windsor won a charter, but its provisions were so strict that no bank was organized under it. Bonds of $30,000 were required of directors, and lesser bonds for the cashier and the clerks. The bank was taxed $1,000 the first year, and $1,500 annually thereafter, besides six per cent of its income. Stockholders were liable beyond the value of their shares. A Burlington bill passed the same Assembly, 82-73, but after the non-concurrence of the Governor and Council in both charters, it was rejected, 69-66, while the Windsor charter passed with further amendments.[31]

It was a wise policy, after this defeat, for the interests promoting the Burlington bank to pick Van Ness as their spokesman in the renewed campaign of 1818. He had a direct stake in their success. They kept him as president of the board of directors from their organization until his election to the Supreme Court. He carried weight with the anti-bank Republicans, as a dispenser of patronage and a strong supporter of the recent war.

No doubt the business of the boundary commission, which had just closed an important session on October 4, kept Van Ness from the opening of the session. As a newcomer, he could have little part in the organization of the House; anyone could introduce the charter bill. During the second week, however, he was active before the judiciary committee, took a week-end leave of absence, and then settled down to his main business.

The bill, rewritten by the banking committee, passed its first tests, was ordered printed for the members, and made the order of the day for October 27. Van Ness called it up on that day, and debate started

29. *Assembly Journal*, 1817, 15.

30. *Ibid.*

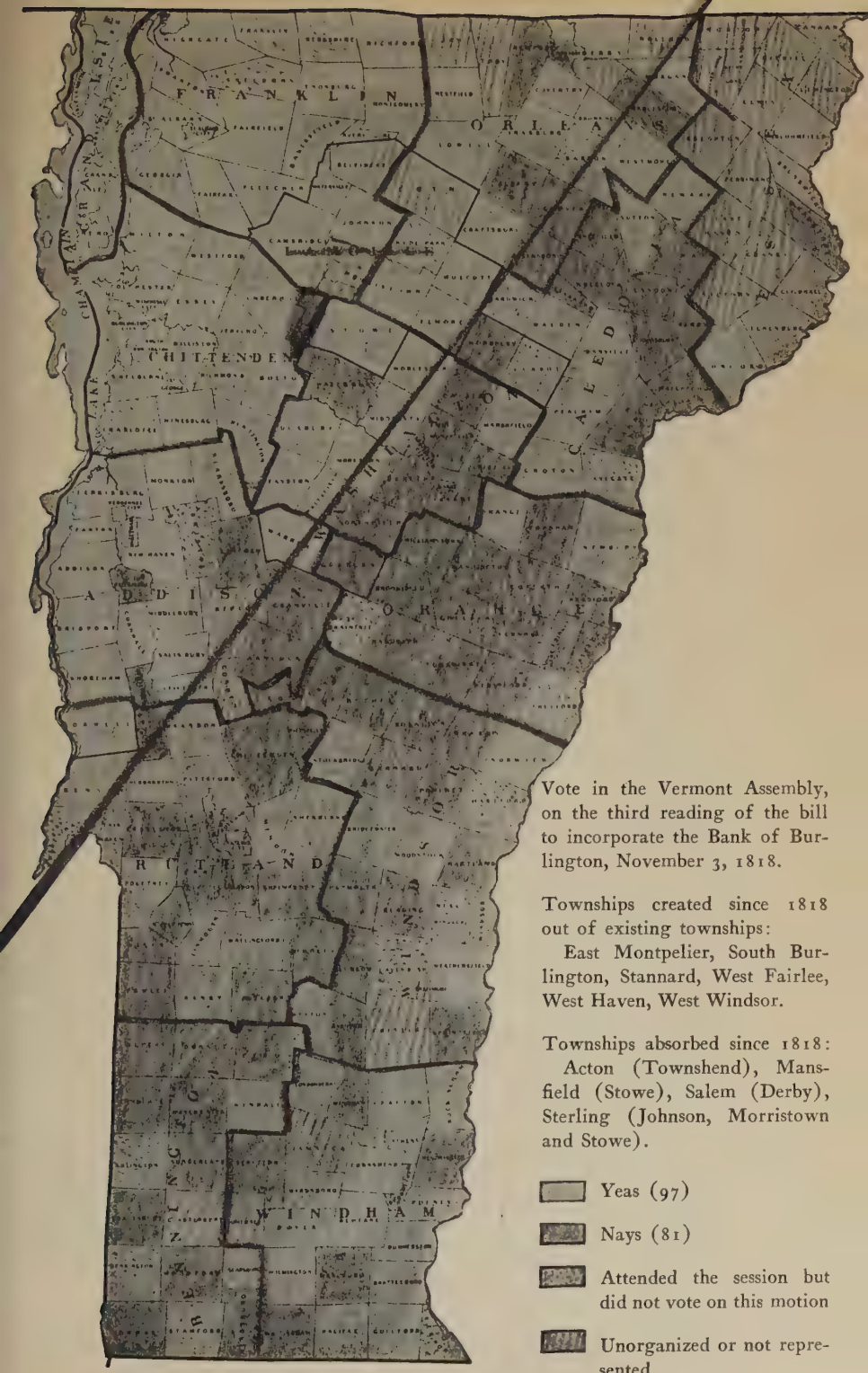
31. The action of the 1817 session on bank affairs is summarized in *Governor and Council*, 6:206.

in earnest. The attack, opened by Jonathan Draper of Shaftsbury, concentrated on shortening the life of the charter, or postponing to the next session, or dismissing the bill outright. It survived the Draper motion to dismiss, 89-91, and after a week's debate passed the House, 97-81.[32]

The next day, Governor Galusha broke the Council deadlock by voting against it.[33] The yeas and nays were not recorded when the House passed the bill again on November 5, but if one can judge by the 70-102 vote against the motion of William Nutting of Randolph to postpone to the next session, the margin was wider than at first. Van Ness, appointed to assign reasons to the Governor and Council,[34] delivered his message, which is not recorded, so that the Council concurred the same day. But they changed their minds overnight, suggesting an eight per cent tax on dividends, and penalties for suspension of specie payments, and sending David Fay to explain these amendments to the House.[35] After two more days' jockeying, the Council had their way in part, agreed to a profits tax of six per cent, and the bill became law on November 9.[36] Van Ness had just moved to make the Windsor bank bill the order of the afternoon, and it passed without a record vote.

The two bills had followed parallel courses in the House and the charters, both with heavy restrictions, differed only in detail. Burlington was permitted a capitalization of $150,000, to Windsor's $100,000. Both had the same limits on note circulation imposed previously on the Vermont State Bank: the amount of specie on deposit, and three times the amount of paid-in capital. Both had the same potentially strict state supervision; the same $8,000 bond required of directors; the same dividend limit of six per cent per year; the same maximum of twenty votes per stockholder, graded down to one vote for each of the first four shares; the same obligation to bank for the state. For suspending specie payments, the banks were to be charged twelve per cent interest, and were liable to have their charters vacated by the Supreme Court for non-payment.[37]

32. *Assembly Journal*, 1818, 101-103; 127-128.
33. *Governor and Council*, 6: 240.
34. *Assembly Journal*, 1818, 137-138.
35. *Governor and Council*, 6: 241-242.
36. *Assembly Journal*, 1818, 155.
37. *Laws of Vermont*, 1818, 183-192 (Burlington), and 192-202 (Windsor).



Vote in the Vermont Assembly, on the third reading of the bill to incorporate the Bank of Burlington, November 3, 1818.

Townships created since 1818 out of existing townships:

East Montpelier, South Burlington, Stannard, West Fairlee, West Haven, West Windsor.

Townships absorbed since 1818:

Acton (Townshend), Mansfield (Stowe), Salem (Derby), Sterling (Johnson, Morristown and Stowe).

Yeas (97)

Nays (81)

Attended the session but did not vote on this motion

Unorganized or not represented

Source: Vermont, *Journals of the General Assembly . . . 1818.* Bennington, n.d. 127-128.

Analysis of the vote of November 3, when the bill first passed the Assembly, reveals certain political and economic correlations.[38] No members from any town on the shores of Lake Champlain, a trade route with a tendency to focus on Burlington, voted against the charter. Windham County, and the five northwestern counties from Addison to Orleans, voted 72-16 for the charter. The vote in the region northwest of a line drawn from the northeastern corner of Orleans County to the southern tip of Lake Champlain was 57-8. The eight previous gubernatorial elections show these northwestern counties and Windham County to be the area of Federalist strength.[39] The first non-concurrence of the Governor and Council disclosed the same regional division.

Votes were not recorded on the Windsor bill.[40] The Windham County bank petition did not come to a vote until the final days of the session, when on the motion to dismiss, only fifty-eight nays, including Van Ness's and those of fifty-one others who had voted for Burlington, could be rallied against sixty-nine yeas.[41] Obviously, many members had left for home, or did not vote for other reasons. Ten from the northwestern counties, who had supported the Burlington bill, now did not want adjournment postponed by another bank fight; in the south, the net change was only one in the same direction, and in Essex County, three. Five other towns petitioning for banks—Weathersfield, Woodstock, Brandon, Johnson, and Craftsbury—supported the Burlington charter, although their own projects never reached a vote.[42]

Federalism in Vermont, as expressed on the important bank issue, was not dead, but boring from within the Republican Party. Pres-

38. See accompanying map.

39. After the party carried only Grand Isle and Windham Counties in 1817, it petered out.

40. The yeas and nays on the motion to refer to the next session are indexed as for Windsor (*Assembly Journal*, 1818, 157-158) but that reference is a recorded vote for the Burlington bill.

41. *Ibid.*, 153-154.

42. The previous year, the opposing sides held their lines firm, almost regardless of proximity to the prospective banks. All votes, after the non-concurrence of the Governor and Council on both bills, were on November 6 (*ibid.*, 1817, 187-190). Comparing the vote on passage of the Burlington bill (defeated, 66-69) and on referring the Windsor bill to the next session (defeated, 65-66), we find only twenty-two changes, most of which were abstentions. These took strength from the opposition, as there was a net change of two who voted to refer, after supporting the Burlington charter.

sure for more banks continued, as the Country came to the brink of another depression. Galusha's annual speech of 1819 referred to complaints of the scarcity of money in the midst of abundant wealth and prosperity. He proposed, as before, investigation and reform, curtailment of unnecessary expense, a bankruptcy law "which would discourage credit where it ought not to be given," and the encouragement of domestic manufacturing; but no more banks. The states with the most banks and the easiest credit, he declared, were complaining the loudest.[43]

After Brattleboro pushed through its charter in 1821, Governor Skinner's next annual message referred to "the ruinous effects of multiplying banks. . . . [Grant one charter, and it is harder to resist the next] . . . enough has already been done to satisfy every . . . [banking requirement] for the public good." The business of the state did not need more; farmers could not support more; they would only suffer from "usurious depredations."[44]

Two other episodes in Van Ness's legislative career added to the company of enemies which he, like other successful men, accumulated as he stepped from victory to victory. The first was the contested Congressional election of 1818. Since 1812, the whole state had voted on a general ticket,[45] so that the party which elected the state officers chose all the Congressmen too. The effect of this change in 1814 was to recall every Republican Congressman, although some parts of the state, such as Bennington County, remained strongly Republican. Other states were proposing to settle the question by amending the federal constitution; the outcome of the 1818 election made Vermont determined to change its own method at once.[46]

Van Ness, not satisfied with the ticket nominated by the legislative caucus of 1817, which supported only two of the incumbents, backed the four who were willing to run again, one of the new caucus candidates, and Ezra Meech, the choice of a caucus in the Burlington area.[47] Of the three places contested, the Van Ness men won two comfortably, and by controlling the canvassing committee,[48] threw

43. *Ibid.*, 1819, 11-13.

44. *Ibid.*, 1822, 11.

45. *Laws of Vermont*, 1812, 132-139.

46. *Governor and Council*, 6:455-460 (Appendix C) discusses this movement.

47. Crockett, *Vermont*, 3:157-158; Hemenway, *Gazetteer*, 1:622 (biographical sketch of W. A. Griswold by G. B. Sawyer).

48. Thirty-nine members, three from each county, appointed by the Speaker,

out enough votes to return the sixth, Congressman Orsamus C. Merrill. The pretext that the rejected ballots had been printed[49] was overruled by the Congressional committee on elections. That gave William A. Griswold of Danville the sixth highest number of votes, but he was not there to claim his seat. Rollin C. Mallory of Poultney, seventh, won the place by default. Before the contest had been settled, the Vermont Assembly—Van Ness probably voting nay—passed the redistricting law.[50] Although his side had won two of the three contested places, he had made more enemies than friends.

During his third term, Silas Hathaway of St. Albans introduced a resolution to oust him for dual officeholding.[51] The committee on elections reported against Hathaway,[52] and the resolution was dismissed, perhaps on the theory that serving on an international commission was not holding "office of profit or trust under the authority of Congress."[53]

Van Ness's other activities as a member of four Assemblies were closely connected with his profession. The typical busy man, he made time to revive his private practice along with his legislative and diplomatic duties. His first act of the 1818 session was to raise the question of equal inheritance for men and women, a proposal far ahead of his time.[54] He consistently favored an easier bankruptcy law, with the abolition of imprisonment for debt.[55] Again in the minority, he supported a new salary bill for Supreme Court justices. He headed the list of members of the judiciary committee after his first term, resigning the appointment in 1821. He was elected to succeed Dudley Chase as Chief Justice, after Chase declined his 1821 re-election.[56]

His elevation to the bench brought him nearly to the top of the

and probably on the recommendations of the county delegations. This made the northern counties more heavily represented than their population would warrant.

49. Burlington *Northern Sentinel*, October 16, 1818.

50. *Assembly Journal*, 1818, 117-118. The yeas and nays are given only for the motion to refer (defeated, 81-102), Van Ness voting yea.

51. *Ibid.*, 1820, 27.

52. *Ibid.*, 86. No reasons were recorded.

53. *Constitution of the State of Vermont*, Part II, Section 26.

54. *Assembly Journal*, 1818, 56. Considered worthy of mention in *Niles' Register*, November 14, 1818, with the redistricting bill and the bank bills, as the important business of the session.

55. E.g., *ibid.*, 1819, 165.

56. *Ibid.*, 1821, 21, 79, 90.

Vermont judicial ladder. If the duties of chief justice satisfied him, he could be re-elected each year, until he retired, or was promoted to the United States Court for the District of Vermont. He was only thirty-nine, about three years younger than the average age of Vermont Supreme Court justices up to that time. Only two others, Nathaniel Chipman and Richard Skinner, had ever been, or ever have been since, made chief justice before they reached forty. Van Ness was young enough to wait until the death or retirement of Elijah Paine, District Judge, who was already sixty-five. Who would have prophesied in 1821 that Paine would still be judge in 1842? Van Ness was his heir apparent, for two of the three appointments to the District Court had been made from former Vermont Supreme Court justices, and the same practice was followed in two of the remaining three nineteenth century appointments.

Whenever he chose to re-enter politics, he was an extremely available candidate. Every governor up to that time, except for the two Chittendens, had previously been a Supreme Court justice. And while this almost unbroken succession ended with Van Ness, the next half century saw six other justices crown their careers as governors. There was equally good precedent for justices becoming senators. Horatio Seymour, elected the previous year, and Dudley Chase, the retiring chief justice, alone of the twelve Vermont senators before 1821, had not served on the Court before going to the Senate. The preference for justices in the national House was less marked, but before 1821, five had totalled twenty-six years of service.

In some respects, he was still in politics. He held office by annual election in Joint Assembly. Thrice in the previous twenty years a shift in party control had turned all the incumbent judicial "rascals" out, but the bitter partisanship of those days was apparently over. Ten years later, when the Anti-Masons controlled the state, one of the major tenets of their platform was to ban every Mason from office; yet, in 1831, two Masons were elected.[57] After the return of the Republicans in 1815, never again was a complete panel removed on the sole test of party. The long years of Whig and latter-day Republican supremacy did not prevent the election of five Democrats and one Freesoiler.

57. Charles K. Williams, and probably Stephen Royce, who became the Court's hardy perennials. See the Montpelier *Watchman and State Gazette*, November 7, 1831. David M. Ludlum, *Social Ferment in Vermont, 1791-1850*, 122, assumes that Governor Palmer appointed them.

Chief Justice Van Ness began his duties under a new system, whereby single Supreme Court justices, with two county judges, constituted county courts, and the Supreme Court was restricted to appellate jurisdiction in questions of law, and chancery cases.[58] He could make friends among the bar in every shire town, and mend his fences in the best non-political way. His supporters claimed that in these years his popularity grew by leaps and bounds.

While he was making friends, he influenced people by control of the patronage, for he loved the game of politics more than the studies of the bench. As judges must, he could investigate exhaustively, concentrate on essentials, reason closely, and state his conclusions simply. Yet he was pre-eminently an orator, with "a torrent of impassioned argument, . . . sweeping away juries and assemblies, and . . . moving from their moorings the anchored caution and gravity of the bench . . . he loved . . . the conflicts of the bar, and fought his cases with all his might, when not for himself, as if for himself."[59] He knew how to enjoy the honors of his high office, but his temperament must have chafed against the enforced idleness of his non-judicial talents.

When Richard Skinner did not choose to run again for governor in 1823, Van Ness prepared to succeed him by letting his name be proposed by the county nominating conventions. He never had to campaign actively for governor, because his opposition was small and unorganized.[60]

His inaugural address was unusually long, and expressed what came to be a typical Whig position on almost every issue.[61] He pointed with pride to the peaceful and prosperous condition of the Country. The completion of the Champlain-Hudson canal in 1823 had inaugurated a new era, he said, recommending further internal improvements. Agriculture, Vermont's chief business, could not prosper without a home market developed by a tariff-protected industry.

Two of the many reforms dear to the heart of the evangelical hu-

58. For his judicial opinions, see Daniel Chipman's *Vermont Reports*, II, covering 1813-1824.

59. Hemenway, *Gazetteer*, 609, 613-614, quoting Sawyer's obituary.

60. The vote was in 1823: Van Ness 11,479, Dudley Chase 1,088, scattering 843. In 1824: Van Ness 13,413, Joel Doolittle (another former Supreme Court judge) 1,962, scattering 346. In 1825: not reported. See *Governor and Council*, 7: 67, 111, 161.

61. *Assembly Journal*, 1823, 8-12.

manitarians received his blessing: aid to the indigent deaf (because he was bound to recognize the report of investigation instigated by previous Assemblies), and common schools. It may seem strange that he felt it necessary to assert, ". . . there is . . . no injustice in compelling the rich to contribute to the education of the poor."[62] Give the poor a chance, he continued, and you help combat vice and misfortune with universal knowledge, and preserve social equality. Against reformers as a class, however, he warned that "the stability of laws is next in importance to their wisdom."[63] Some zealots, he feared, would always find something to reform, and hurt our institutions by their agitation.

He tossed a bouquet to Captain Alden Partridge's new academy (now Norwich University) for trying to prepare an organized citizen soldiery to defend the republicanism for which the wars of liberation were being fought.

> Although remote from the nations of the old world, and sheltered from the fury of the storms that agitate them, yet we cannot behold with indifference the enslaved and degraded state of the people who compose them, and the outrages which are committed on their rights. Every American breast must beat high with sympathy at this crisis, for the Greeks and the Spaniards; the former of whom are bravely struggling to break the iron fetters of their slavery, and to reassume a rank among the nations; and the latter are endeavouring, though it is feared but too feebly, to defend their constitutional liberties, against the rude encroachments of lawless and despotick power.[64]

His annual speeches of 1824 and 1825[65] made in general the same recommendations, with special emphasis, in the presidential year, on the need of a law governing the choice of electors, and in 1825 on possible canals for Vermont.

He turned over to the Assembly southern state legislative resolutions in favor of Jackson with remarks which revealed none of his

62. *Ibid.*, 10.

63. *Ibid.*, 9.

64. *Ibid.* Van Ness's son, James, interested himself in the question, "Are the European Nations in a condition to admit of a Republican Government?" as part of his graduating exercises in 1825. *Sentinel*, August 12. Governor Van Ness wrote letters of introduction for Jonathan P. Miller, when he left the University of Vermont after the fire of 1824, which helped persuade the Greek Association to give him passage to Europe, where he fought in the Greek Revolution. Crockett, *Vermont*, 3:218.

65. *Assembly Journal*, 1824, 11-13; 1825, 12-15.

private attitude. At the same time, his brother John in Washington was promoting the candidacy of W. H. Crawford. Van Ness preferred a general ticket of presidential electors, arguing that the Constitution orders the people of the state, not of a part of it, to be represented in the Electoral College.

The abolition of imprisonment for debt, at least as applied to women, seemed to him long overdue. The Assembly paid no more attention than it had in 1819.[66] The next governor renewed the fight, but women were not exempt until 1834.[67]

At the height of the canal fever, Van Ness authorized a commission to secure an army survey. A canal would promote immigration and business expansion in its trail; but he warned against wasting public or private capital on doubtful schemes "for the honour of imitating others, more favourably situated, and possessing more ample means. . . ."[68] The survey, justifying his caution, saved money that might have been wasted on premature construction, and later was useful to the railroad builders.

He greeted the inauguration of President Adams with a deft compliment while paying tribute to Monroe, "the last revolutionary patriot . . . it is a source of great felicity, that the succession has fallen on a statesman and patriot of the present day, whose transcendent talents, extensive experience, and purity of character, furnish an unfailing pledge, that, under his guidance, her progress, to say the least, will be unimpeded and untarnished."[69]

Van Ness declined the nomination for a fourth sure term, and concentrated on succeeding Horatio Seymour in the senatorial election of 1826. Friends and enemies later acknowledged that he was senatorial timber, and all signs, as far as recorded by historians of Vermont, pointed to his success. So William C. Bradley reported to President Adams on December 10, 1825.[70] Van Ness had reached the great test of his life, the threshold his ambition sought. Would he continue to be the arbiter of Vermont politics?

66. See above, page 16.
67. *Laws of Vermont*, 1834, 8.
68. *Assembly Journal*, 1825, 13.
69. *Ibid.*, 11.
70. Adams, *Memoirs*, 7:77.

THE REVEREND JOEL WINCH— PIONEER MINISTER. II

Selections from His Diaries

Edited by

Arthur Wallace Peach

Our first selections from Mr. Winch's diary [Proceedings *for December 1941*] *reveal the story of a Vermont lad living the typical life of a boy in a pioneer settlement, but showing also an interest in the doctrinal disputes in his neighborhood and a gift for speaking. The pages indicate the inner stress Mr. Winch faced in his early years as he sought to avoid what seemed to be his destiny. At the close of our first instalment he had decided to become a Methodist preacher. In the selections now before our readers we find him a circuit preacher in Vermont, and his trials, tribulations, and joys bring to us, we believe, a clear picture of a phase of Vermont life that vanished many years ago. Editor.*

JULY 5th I set off to go to my Circuit went in company with Br. T— Bishop as far as Whitingham Vermont. I felt like an unfit person to go onto a Circuit. I trembled when I thought of my being in the traviling Connecton. Tuesday the 6th I went to B^{r} Bulluck in Gilford was kindly recieved and entertained. Wednesday the 7 I got onto my Circuit at Brookline, began to give out appointments for the next Weak. That night staid at B^{r} Leas in Townszend he was a Class Leader. He said that Discipline would do any whare on the Circuit only in his Class, but it would not do to set it up there. I told him that we ware afallen People unless we kept the Discipline of the Church. I slept but a little that night on the account of Bugs and fleas.

Thursday 8 I went to Athens put up at Doctor Theanes. He also was a Class Leader and a friend to Discipline. On the Sabbath July 11 I preached at the Centre S-House on Matthew 5-8 Blesed are the pure in heart; for they shall see God. In the afternoon Thes. 5-17 Pray with out ceasing. I had some liberty, some wept some chanted.

Monday 12th I knew not what to do, for I had not the charge of the Circuit and Br Wm. Pettegrew who had it, and was to travil with me had not come on. I therefore concluded to go and do jest as if I had it till Br W— P—w came. I went round the lower part of the Circuit and found that Discipline was wholy lade aside. I tried to read and explain it to them and told them that it must be in Methodist societies. I had some talkes with the old fashened Calvinistic Close communion Baptis. I felt tried to find the Circuit in such a situation Respecting Discipline. I could not find out as any had been taken in to full connection.

I came to Athens and met the first Class found anumber of old Difficulties in it. I went to the 2d and found like wise. I then went to the 3d and found a young Woman that had been nude (as was said) with a Maried Man. I went to the 4th and found them all united to appose the Discipline with respect to Class meetings. Good Lord, cried I, what shall I do. I beleaved that thare ware Christians in all of them. I read and explained Discipline with all my Soul and told them there must be an overturn with the Classes or my preaching would do no good on the Circuit. I then went to the uper part of the Circuit and tried to sing pray preach & read and explain Discipline. Found a Class in Westton that had been formed 4 or 5 Months and had never had one Class meeting sepparate from the World. I wondered how a Methodist preacher could do so. I never once thought that Methodist Preachers ware so negligent about Discipline till I found it by sad experience. Mounthaly was on this Circuit that youst to be in Wethersfield Ct. I did not go there becaus I knew how they felt towards me. I went back to Athens again met Br. W— P—w who had come on to take charge and travil the Circuit with me. I was glad to see him; he was a good Man and good in Discipline. We both tried to do as well as to Discipline as we could, both of us being young and the first year of our traviling, but Br P—w was 55 years old. He went once round the Ct befort Q Meeting which was the 20 & 21 of August by which time he was so unwell that he went home and left me alone.

We had quite a good time at Q M—g but a large number got shut out of Love-feast for comeing late.

In Q Meeting Conferance Br C—d the Presideing elder talked a long time to convince the Class Leaders of the propriety of holding Class meetings. Monday the 22 Br C—d preached at Br Lees in Townzend to a hardened few. Tuesday we went off to go to a Q

Meeting in Gill in Massachusetts on Whitingham Circuit. We staid in Gilford at Peter Jacobs that night. Wednesday 24th we ware at a Watch night. Saturday 27 Br C—d preached. We had a shouting time, but I was unwell. I was glad to see Br O—B— & C—D Preachers on that Circuit. The meeting on the sabbath was attended with the power of God. The Children of the Devil tried to make disturbance, but the Lord put a Bridle in to there Mouthes and gave the rains to his Children.

On my way back Br. C—d began to hammer me for my inproprieties. I remembered that the Lord trumpets ware mad of beaten Gold. An I had so many flaws in me that I kneeded a grate deal of beating in order that it might sound well. I never was so trimingly talked to before. He found falt with me for that which I never was gilty of.—I loved him the better for his faithfulness, for I knew that I was guilty enough, but Br. O— B— talked so that I felt tried with him; for I had come down on purpos to see him and make him a viset and to be talked to as he talked I thought it was not becoming unless he had been the Presideing Elder.

I soon got red of all hardness and felt the better for my visit, yet I felt deturmind to not visit much if I came off, so I got on to my Circuit again, traveled alone that Quarter. I tried to keep Discipline. I turned out a number held Class meetings. When I came to hold them acording to Discipline in the 4th Class in Athens, they ware all so united against it that I knew not but I should loose them all. They said that Discipline was good in some plases (I found that people Loved Discipline a grate wayes off). Said they, it was never ment to keep Discipline as to Class meeting only in [?] But I was resolved to keep Discipline if I lost them all, for a Member that is not willing to be governed by Discipline is not worth a haveing. They told me that the Preachers had alwayes told them that Close Class Meetings ware only for Townes and Villidges. I told them I would not turn my hand over to keep them in Society unless they would be Methodist. By the next Q Meeting we had better times. The work on the Circuit was more like Religion. The Classes began to be alive in religeon. The nex Q Meeting was the 21 & 22 of Jenuary. We had cold Bodyes but some had warm hearts. Br C—d was as much ingaged as ever I saw him. We had a noisy Love feast, the good Song Glory was sung loudly, the whole meeting was good. Monday I went to Andover 19 miles Preached in the evening at Mr Greeles S Hous on Isaiah 7-20 & 21: In the same day shall the Lord shave

with a razor. There was one Chandler, a Helnedemtion, came to dispute me but went off silent, but a number spoke and witnesed to the truth.

That night I rode ten miles after Preaching went to Ludlow. Tuesday 24 I went to Mounthorley. I was there the last time I was round the Circuit: that is the Plase whare they said they would kill me if I came there again as I mentioned in my las years Jurnal. I went there and tried to Preach and God gave me liberty and gave me favour in the sight of the people so that there Love whare with they Saved me was grater then the hatred whare with they hated me. I formed a Class of 13. The Wicked stood tremling on evry side. Many confest there wrong in opposeing me as they youst to do and asked me to forgive them. Those that joind Society ware Shouting Methodist. I preached twice. Next morning Matiable White gave me some versis that the Wicked made about me in 1802 When I went there and preached on James 4-8 in the little log S. House and had blue Clothes on and the man that youst to sing with me had a lame leg. I cald for a Class meeting as you may find in 99th page. The following versis ware composed for to hurt me, but I do not feel hurt by them. My Lords first Sermon was cald a Sermon on the Mount. They call mine Winches Sermon on the Mount becaus preached in Mounthauley.

Winchis Sermon on the Mount
November 9th 1802

The opening of the meeting
While seting round the little hut,
On seats of Slabs, as black as smut,
Lo! the Blue Winch the Priest appeard
And some he doom'd and some he cheard.

Glory to God, I'll bless his name
Up to the Mount we come a gain:
Altho some thretened me to slay
If I again did come this way.

Is there enough to sing he seid?
One answereth; I gess there is
Tharefore to sing we will ingaege
The hundred thirty seventh Page.

But [?] refus'd to join the Choir,
Becaus his Leg was very Soare:
Tharefor the parson fix't his tune,
And sung his ditty all a lone.

Then down he kneel'd and thus did pray,
O Lord bless all that I shall say,
And by thy Spirit give me spead
And let them know I'me sent indeed.

The Text

My text now then I will give out,
It you may find some whare about,
James the forth Chaptur I should gess
About the Seventh or eighth verse.

Draw ny to God, what ere you do,
And he will then draw nie you;
And clense your hands ye sinful race,
Ye double minded seak his face.

An Introduction

My Friends there's some of you I trust,
Come hear for good, with hearts that's just;
To lern of me, some thing that's sweet
That we in uper Worlds may meet.

Yet some have come I make no dout,
To git something to laugh about:
A gainst the Methodist they'l rise
And vent them selves by teling lies.

But those that have come here for that,
Shall finde there weakness very grate:
For to each one that pick's a flaw,
I'll give a stinking bone to knaw.

The Sermon

Some times the men that do profess
To walk in waies of Holiness,
Haveing a chance, they'll play the Dice,
Yea Checkers, [?], Fox, and geese.

Some men while labouring in the field,
There mindes are far from Heavenly zeal,
And if there bisness goes not well,
It's, Cus it, Damit, what's the ale [sic].

Some times the Husband and his Wife,
For little things, will fall in strife,
(We're told the're one): I think its scanty
For one might, take them to be twenty.

Young Men to recreate themselves,
Will go unto the Balls with Girles,
There with them they will dance and hop
Jest like the Devil in ful sport.

But this my friends will never do!
If thus you do to Hell you'll go!
O! come Young people wont you turn?
Before in Flames of Hell you burn?

Come pray poor Siners will not you?
Leave your vile wayes and peace pursue?
The day of Grace may soon be ours!
Perhaps with you before an hour!

My Friends I do quite hapy feel,
My Soul is fild with Heavenly zeal,
I wish you all would like me be,
That we might join in harmone.

My Soul doth all most fill my Mouth,
My voice is heard from North to South:
And if my Soul should larger git,
Then I should hallow louder yet.

Some people call the Methodists
All most as bad as Devilists;
They grumble at there dismal noise
And say they will not follow Boyes.

But this my Friend you all must know,
That when the raigeing wind do blow,
Farms and staitly treas around
Are constant tumbling to the Ground.

Applycation

When labouring for salvation,
With people of my Nation,
I often ask the question,
Wether the've got religeon.

The first sayes yes I hope so:
The second sayes I gess so:
The third sayes why I dont no:
The fourth answereth O no.

Indeed my Friends, you speak of Swamps
Of which I never read:
If in them you do pitch your tents,
Your ending will be sad.

Hope so, supports each one that's frail;
Gess so, will hear after fail;
Dont no, is a fright full tail;
O no, is the Rhode to Hell.

So now I leave my applycation,
Hopeing you will find Salvation,
And low! I turn to Exhortation,
O may it come like thunderation.

Exhortation

Mounthally turn why will you die
Shake of your doubts and fears;
Let love assure your Soules on hye
Let gladness dry your tears.

Ye retches all turn to the Lord
Or he will whip you with his rod,
O that your Soules may shun the fire:
Let us all look to God by Prayer.

The Concludeing Prayer

When Winch down on the floor had kneeld,
To God he praid with master zeal,
For to send fire if he thought good
And burn the filthey Neighbourhood.

Convince the Universalists,
The Deists and the Atheists,
Of folley, and of Sinful wayes,
And let them in they Pasturs graze.

Turn Siners Lord Almighty God,
Visit them with thy chastening Rod;
Appear for them while in there guilt
And let them know thy Blood was spilt.

Be with the people of this plase,
Visit them with thy Heavenly raise;
Be to the Methodist the Same
For-ever and-ever AMen.

Benediction

My Benediction on you rest,
And you by Heaven all be blest
The sacred three with you remain,
And on the world from now AMEN—

CLASS MEETING

Then to conclude when he a rose,
To bring his labours to a close,
He greved the People very low
And turned the Retches out of Door.

Thursday 26 I went Westton Preached at Mr M—n Tavern on Psalmes 9-16: The Lord is known by the judgment which he executeth the wicked is snared in the work of his own hands. It was a convinceing time. We held Class meeting in a Hall Friday 27. I spent the day visiting Reading & praying. I went to Visit Mr Crames Family & while I was there, there came in a Young Man and Woman who lived below. They ware drest more like the Devils Butterflyes then like Christians. I felt it my duty to exhort them, but I went off with out and got on to my Horse when thes words came to me, Am I clear of the Blood of them people? I thought how shocking it must be to meet them unprepared at God's bar when if I had Exhorted them, it might have been the means of there conviction and conversion and now thought I I may never have another oppertunity. The thoughts of there condition caused me to stop. I had got a half

a Mile from the Hous. I then spured up my horse and went on deturmind to drive it off of my mind but I could not, for I felt as tho there Blood would be required at my hand. And thought I if I had exhorted them, they would go to Heaven and help prais the Lord, but now they will be damned for my neglect. I stopt, turned my Horse about, went back found them, and exhorted them faithfully and went of in quietness. O Lord convert there Soules that they may prais thee.

Sat. 28 I went to London-Derry, put up at Mr. Clafes, found that Mr. Favewell was a going to preach in the Neighbourhood. He was a Universal Resteration Hell redemption Preacher. He was calld a grate man by the Universalists of that Town and they had told me that he was a Coledge edicated Man which I disputed altho I had never seen him, and as they had got confounded by the arguments I had used with them they wished to hear Mr F—l, and me talk for which caus they had left express word at Mr. C—es for me to come to Meeting. I went lest they should say that I was afraid.

I took 2 or 3 Methodist and some that ware Frind for to be witnesses. It stormed with snow quit fast. When I came to the Doore two Men meet alittle way off and one said to the other who is that with Chafe? the other said it Winch. Well, said he, we shall hear them talk to night. I went in and not being introdused took my seat with the People. Soon Mr. F—l came an introdused himself to me and wished me to take a seet with him which I did. He then went on and told the People that God had said by Paul to Timothy that he would have all men saved. Said he, if any Man should say that all Men would not be saved it would be giveing God the lie. I thought he put the People in a poor situation to be convinced of Sin of Righteousness & of a judgement to come. He then Sung and did what he cauld praying and gave out Romans 9-22-23 What if God willing to show his wrath, and to make his power known, endured with much longsuffering the vessels of wrath fitted to destruction; And that he might &. c. He first said that these words ware used to prove Election. And that served for an introduction. He then laide down his work. First, Said he, I shall indever to show that the Preacher best known by Calvenists do Preach a falshood and on truth a Lie. II What I under stand by Election and III What Paul ment by the text. Thought I, this is wonderful; he had gav one propersition on the text and two on him Self. He used a number of words that he calld origenal Language. His manner of delivering it made me think of the Crocadile. There was no Jesus in his whole Sermon.

He cald on me to make a concluding Prayer, which I did with all my might and prai'd the Lord to distroy fals Doctrines and stop blind guides and prevent the Doctrin that night delivered from doing any harm.

He then wished that any one that did not feel satisfied with the Sermon to ask him questions. It being late in the night I wished to go home. However, I asked him to tell me what Language that was which he calld Origenal. He was unwilling to give an answer but alength owned he did not know. I told the People to observe that the Minister did not know wot Language his Origenal word ware at which he was affended. However, they no more told me that he was a Colledge bred Man. We had some other talk relitive to his text and parted Sunday.

It was so wonderfuly drifted up with snow that no one could git to meeting. I spent the Day in meditation and prayer. Monday some people came to brake rhodes, came in at C—es, got to fighting, one got be hind me to git a way from the other which proved a sort of shelter for him. O Lord, how long shall the ungodly be screaned by the Righteous. It brought to my mind the day when the wicked shall have no one to git behind nor yet atree like Adum in the Garden but must come forth with all there nakedness. My Lord, help them to seak for thy salvation.

Tuesday I set off for Athens. Wednesday I cald to se Mr. Hall in Grafton the setled Minister. I asked Miss Hall if Mr. H—l was at home. She said no, but we can call him if you wish to see him I told her I did. She asked me whare I came from. I told her from London Derry. Said she, Sir if I do not mistake, you are a candidate in the Ministry. Said I, I am cald one. This was true, for I was on trial in the Methodist Connection, a candidate for Deacons orders, but she took me to bea Congregationalist. Said she, sir will you have your horse put up? Said I, yes mam, but I can not stay but a little while. Sure, said she, you will stay till to Morrow. No Mam, said I, must go to Westminister. So one Boy put up my Horse, another went with all speed for Mr. H—l by which time the Broom began to go in the seting Room. The Grate Chare was drawn up and I was waited upon into it, and all hands ware imploid in the kitchen a dinner to prepare which in a few Minutes lit on the Table. I felt for them, knownin they would find there mistake soon.

Jest as I had rose from the table Mr. H—l came in, and after he had inquired for my name and helth, we both wished for further ac-

quaintence and began to be sociable. He asked me about all the Priests that I knew in the Windsor Association. It hapened so that I could tell him alittle about each one he inquired for. I at length grew wery of such dry talk and brought myself out at which Miss H—l quit the Room, but soon came back in a raige and began as falows (vz) you are a good for nothing fellow and git your living by beging. I thought it best at that time to answer a fool according to his folley, so I said, well mam, it is more honerable for me to git my living by beging then it would be to have a tax laid on a town and collect by forse there property for nothing but emty blasts of wind. And, beside Mam, you are in a mistake about my beging, for I have jest had a Dinner without asking for it and I expect a Super the same way. Said she, you had ought to be lawfuly introduced in to a Town and be paid for your preaching, not go about brakeing up churches. Said she, there is por Athens undon by just such fellows as you are. Yes mam, said I, we are lawfuly introdused in to all Townes, for he who cureth all Townes States and Nations hath told us to go into all the Erth. And the Erth is the Lord and the fulness there of and he hath not given quit claimes to Priests nor people. And if any one findeth falt we know that he is an apposer to the right owner of the Univerce. 2^{d} as to being paid for Preaching we are paid in the same way that Christ and his apossels ware; they ware persecuted by fashonable priests and by those that ware cald honourable Women, and you see that we are also. And as to settling I had rather be persecuted as long as I live rather then settle with such Laides as many of the Clargiman do and 3^{rdly} as to brakeing up churchis, there is no danger of our brakeing up those that are on Crist the Rock of ages, and as to Athens being undon, it is true, for it had alwayes bee done up wrong till Methodist came and preached, and then the Lord helpt to undo them and do them up right, and I think now that they are like to do well and I hope I shall see this Town in the same situation yet.—Said she, if you say so again, I will turn you out of my House.

It would be kneedless to relate it all. I have only tutched some of the best of it; some is to much to write. M^{r} H—l set silent all this While. I told Miss H—l that she would be a shamed of her conduct when she came to think of it alone how she had used a stranger. I went off prommising to come a gain three or fore weakes. At which time I came and had an a greable talk with M^{r} H—l. He told me not to mind what his wife said, for, said he, you know that Women

will have there way. When I was a comeing away he asked me to stop and dine with him. No, said I, for your wife declared that I should not have a nother Dinner in her house. The old gentleman wept. I bid him fare well, went into the other room to bid his wife fare well, said I, M^{r} H—l gave me an invertation to stay and Dine with him, but I know not as I shall stay. No, said she, I am none afraid of your staying. Good reason for that mam, said I, for the word of the Lord seth Eat not the Bread of him that hath an evil eye.

I then went to Athens to the place whare the preachers meet. I expected to have found help, but found none but still had to travel alone. I met the Classes in Athens and on the Sabbath Preached, had a large Assembley, many wept some Shouted, one fell. The people afterwords said that it was all truth that I said, but there was no Gospel in it. So the next time I came to Town I took these words. John 5-39 Search the scriptures. I in the fore part of the day spoke at the Historic & Profetic Part of the Scriptures and in the after part the Day spoke of the Doctrins of the Scriptures in doing which I notised five Particulars 1st That there is free salvation for all mankind 2^{d} that Mankind was indued with abilities to except of it 3^{d} that they must except of it or be Damed & that there was a danger of backslideing and being Dam'd after they war jestified 5 that they must be mad purfect in love in this life. On which five heads I went threw the whole Scriptures qoiting Chapture and verse and repeating the words. They then went and said it was all Gospel and not truth. So the next time I came I told them it was difficult to pleas them, for some times they said I Preached all truth and no Gospel and then all Gospel and no truth, for which caus I should preach as I thought best without regard to any man.

Sabbath February 12 I preached in Westminister at a School Hous betwean the two Parishis on Samuel 17: And he took his staff in his hand &.c. I then took Acts 22. For as conserning this sect we know it is every whare spoken a gainst &.c. I felt uncommon liberty. I believe some good was done. I gave that I would Preach there the next day night. I went anumber of Miles and preached that evening. Next day I visited till I got back. I found that M^{r} Sage the Setled Minister had been in the Neighbourhood and represented the Methodist in a wrong manner. I deturmind to go the next Morning in Town and see him. At night when I came to the S. House I found it fuller then common with People. What it ment I knew not. I saw anumber with whome I was not acquainted. I also saw

a number that smiled as though somthing pleased them more then common. I looked a crost the Table and saw aman that looked like a lawyer or a congregationalist Minister, I could not tell which, but I at length concluded that it was Mr. Sage. I had seen him once 5 or 6 Years before at the Ordanation of Doctor Cleever in Hartland. I thought I recollected some his looks.

Time came to begin. I sung and prai'd and gave out Psalmes 150-6 Let evry thing that hath breth Praise the Lord praise ye the Lord. When I come to give out my text Mr Sage laide his Book on to the Table opened it and in it was some paper folded like some of his old Notes. And as I gave out Chapture and verse he wrote them down. It was some surpriseing to me. I knew not how one of my Sermonds would read in a Book, but thanks be to God I was not Scared much at him. I saw the People looked at him. I thought I should not have there attention. I told them they would do well to observe how the Discourse was delivered, for they might see it in print; there fore said I mind not the pen man but the Speaker. I first Spoke of the Praise of God both from Man and beasts II Showed that the Brutal creation praised God in there Sphere, then what Man did in his III Used some purswaseve arguments to induce Man to Praise God. And lastly Closed by speaking of the consequent hapiness. When I came to the second proposition I told the Audiance that I must be short lest I should wery the hand of the patient penman. And as he was rite before me when I got before him I would stop till he came up, for I supposed that he came on purpos to fright me & I thought it best to help him all I could for I found he had got a hard job of it. When I came to my Application I told the People all that remained was to recapitulate the leading idears of the Subject and close by improovement. Said I, we have it now in writeing so if I make a mistake it can be rectified. When I had done I asked him to pray. Said he, I did not come to make any disturbence. I tried to pray myself not fearing disturbence.

I then dismist the Meeting went round and spoke to Mr Sage. He said that he did not come for any evil. However, that is known in Heaven. Saide he, my Memory is poor, I thought it might help me to remember by writeing down some of it. I told him it was common for men to take down grate Mens Sermonds or Grait Sermonds. And I did not doubt but it would be of grate help to him. Said I, you are quite welcom to it Mr Sage for Men that Preach stidy to one People are apt to git out of Subjects. Said I, Mr Sage, I ex-

pect to deliver two discourses in this House and if you can git a candidate to fill your Pulpit fore weakes hence, you shall be welcom to come and take them both down. We then had a long debate on Doctrins. Three times I got him so that he would not say yes, no nor part no for which times I made three long Markes on the table which stand there against him yet for all I know.

I went again to Athens met B^{r} John Tinkham who had come to travil with me. My Horse being lame B^{r} T—m went of to the uper end of the Circuit. I staid in Athens, turnd out anumber, the Brethren began to git at liberty I had long Praid for Shouting Methodist and now I found them Glory to God Glory. At two weakes end B^{r} T—m could not git to the meeting place on account of the depth of Snow. March the 1st I borrowed an horse set of to the uper end of the C^{t}, but got Wether bound whare I composed the following versis

In Year Eightteen hundred fore
I was twenty three and for monts more
I traveld to and frow
On Athens Circuit I did ride
All Worldly cares I lade a side
That I some good might do.
I travel'd till the month of March
Then snowes and blowes stopt up my path
I knew not what to do.
March the first day I truly tried
From Athens to Westton to ride
But I could not git threw.
As far as Andover I went
And then I found my strength was spent.
My beast was beat out too
There in the snow we both did lay
While I was there I tried to pray
That God his will would do.
Then in about an hours space
I arrived unto the dwelling place
Of a kind Family.
They chearfully did take me in
Denide me not of any thing,
They Parents ware to me.

Three dayes I lay upon my arms.
It was at M^r Miltemones.
They used me like a Sone.
I hope that they'll have friends in deed
And alwayes find them when the kneed
For what to me they've done.
They found I was a Methodist.
They used me none the worse for this
As you may plainly see
For evry day the'd order [?]
To tend morning and Evening prayers
Which much diverted me,
And when I came to go away
I asked what I had to pay
For trouble I had been.
They all as one to me did say
If you a gain do come this way
You mus call in again

Tuesday March the 6 I got to B^r J— Alens in Derry. And on Thirsday 8 I went to visit a sick Family when I returned I found B^r J— T—m he had been shut up by the Snow. On Friday I went to visit Mr Barker and family. He had lost his Wife the night before. She died in travil the snow being so deap that they could not git help —Saterday 10 I preached at her Funeral on these words Ezekiel 24-16-17-18. Son of Man behold I take from thee the desire of thine eyes &.c.

LOYALISTS AND THEIR PROPERTY

By Mary Greene Nye

Research has ventured only a little way into the complex problem of loyalist activities in Vermont, the personnel involved, and the final resolutions of their failures and achievements. Volume six of the State Papers of Vermont, *1941, deals with the sequestration, confiscation, and sale of loyalist estates, and carries an introductory chapter by the editor, Mary Greene Nye. The distribution of the volume is limited, and we believe that Mrs. Nye's introduction will interest many readers who do not have access to the book. The chapter is reprinted with the permission of Mrs. Nye and the Honorable Rawson C. Myrick, Secretary of State, under whose direction the volume has been published. Editor.*

THE whole field of the sequestration, confiscation and sale of properties of those persons living in or owning property in the state of Vermont at the outbreak of the American Revolution who remained loyal to the British government, is almost entirely unreapt. A very considerable number of original manuscript documents relating thereto have lain untouched and practically forgotten in the archives of the state for more than a century. How much more similar material may be found among the records of the early courts and other repositories within the state is not now known. Many documents relating to this period are to be found in the archives at Washington as well as of the neighboring states of New Hampshire, Massachusetts and New York, the Public Record Office of England and of the Canadian provinces of Ontario and Quebec, while others doubtless have found their way into private collections or remain unidentified in other places. That these last may at some not distant day be brought to light is greatly to be hoped. For example, if the private papers of Governor Thomas Chittenden could be located and made available to students, much trustworthy source material would be added to our historical stores.

The known records of the conventions of the town and county committees of safety and correspondence, of the general conventions,

the council of safety and board of war of Vermont, together with the early records of the general assembly and governor and council, contain much information relative to the affairs of the loyalists, and the manner in which their individual cases were handled by these various bodies, and this material is available to the student through the series of books published by the state, known as *Governor and Council* (in eight volumes) and *State Papers of Vermont*, vol. 3, bound in four parts.

The object of this present volume of State Papers is to bring to the reader or student of Vermont's history copies of such remaining manuscript records in the custody of the secretary of state concerning the sequestration, confiscation and sale of tory estates as have not already appeared in the above named volumes.

These documents form a miscellaneous group, ranging from the hitherto unpublished and very incomplete official records of the court of confiscation, through acts of the legislature by virtue of which the business was conducted, reports of the various officers in charge, petitions for relief, partial lists of persons whose property was ordered confiscated, lists of estates sold and moneys received therefor; expense accounts of various officers; accounts against confiscated estates; itemized articles sold at "vendue"; treasurer's accounts, orders and receipts; certificates of sale of confiscated lands, and many other classifications of lesser number—all of which should give the reader a fairly clear conception of what the term "sequestration, confiscation and sale of estates" signified. It should also show quite conclusively why it was not necessary to tax the pioneer settlers upon the lands granted by the new and independent state of Vermont. In the aggregate the sum covered into the state's treasury was very large, and so long as the practice continued, there must have been quite sufficient funds to keep the government functioning.

The first mention of tories, as such, preserved in any meeting of record within the present state of Vermont contained in the archives of the state, was a vote taken at the adjourned session of a general convention on the New Hampshire Grants held at Dorset, September 25, 1776, which reads: "Voted, that a sufficient Goal be built on the west side of the range of Green Mountains at some place, that shall be hereafter agreed on, for securing tories." As a result of this vote, a gaol was ordered to be built at Manchester, with Lieutenant Martin Powell as gaol keeper. (*Governor and Council*, vol. 1, pp. 31-32.)

A brief outline of the formation, development and operation of the

various channels through which the sequestration, confiscation and sale of estates functioned, may be helpful to the general reader.

It must be remembered that after July 20, 1764, the land now comprised within the state of Vermont was claimed by the province of New York under an order in council of King George III of England. That this tract included the counties of Gloucester, Cumberland, and parts of Charlotte and Albany of that province; that as part of New York, it was governed by and amenable to its laws and customs; that at various times officers acting under the authority of that province were appointed and served in those counties; that military units therein were supported out of its treasury; and that the first officers of whom we have any record as authorized to function as commissioners of sequestration, were those appointed by the provincial congress of New York on March 6, 1777, when James Clay of Putney, Amos Robertson [Robinson] of Hartford and Israel Smith of Brattleboro, were appointed commissioners for Cumberland County; Cornelius Cuyler of Schenectady, Harmanus Wendell of the city of Albany and Peter Van Ness of Claverack, for the county of Albany; on April 2, 1777, John Rowan of Salem,[1] Aaron Fuller of Whitehall[1] and John Moorhouse of Willsboro[1] for the county of Charlotte, while on May 2, 1777, Colonel Peter Olcott of Norwich, Colonel Jacob Kent of Newbury and Major Israel Smith of Thetford were appointed commissioners for Gloucester County. That these officials had already instituted actions under the authority vested in them by the province of New York previous to the convention of the inhabitants of Vermont held at Windsor on June 4, 1777, is indicated by the adoption of resolutions at that meeting requiring the committees of safety and commissioners of sequestration appointed under the authority of New York to "desist and surcease" their commissions, and those officials were strictly forbidden seizing or disposing of estates of inimical persons until further order of the convention. Committees of safety acting under the authority of Vermont were immediately appointed and directed to take into their custody

1. In *Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States, New York*, 1790, the name of John Moorhouse appears as being of Willsboro, Clinton County; that of Aaron Fuller of Whitehall, Washington County, and John Rowan of Salem, also in Washington County.

In 1777 these towns were all included in Charlotte County, which was formed in 1772; its name changed to Washington in 1784 (*Laws of New York*, 1784, Chapter 17) and in 1788 Washington County was divided, the northern portion being named Clinton County (*ibid.*, 1788, Chapter 63).

all estates of inimical persons who had heretofore or that might thereafter be by sufficient evidence, proved to be inimical to the American cause. (*Governor and Council*, vol. 1, pp. 60-61.)

Just prior to the adjournment of the historic session of the general convention at Windsor on July 8, 1777, a council of safety later known as the "Old Council of Safety" composed of thirteen men, was appointed to "manage the affairs of the state until the government should go into operation under the newly adopted constitution." It is a significant fact that nearly all the members of this "Old Council" became members of the "Governor and Council" and also continued to act as council of safety and board of war. The powers of this "Old Council" combined those of the legislative, judicial and executive. The council met by agreement at Manchester on July 11, 1777, and organized, electing Colonel Thomas Chittenden as president and Ira Allen, secretary. General Burgoyne's army was pressing upon the frontiers of the new commonwealth, and immediate action to protect the lives and property of the inhabitants thereof was absolutely necessary. To this end it was imperative that a military force be raised, but there being no funds in the treasury with which to equip or pay such a body, Ira Allen's suggestion to the council[2] that commissioners of sequestration be appointed and that the property of tories within the state be seized and sold at public vendue to furnish these sinews of war, at once found favor in the sight of that body; records show that the treasury began to fill almost immediately and Colonel Herrick's regiment was raised and their bounties paid

2. The claim made by Allen and by others for him, that he was the originator of this plan of confiscation and sale of inimical persons' estates for the use of the state, and that these sales were "the first in America of seizing and selling the property of the enemies of American Independence" can hardly be maintained in the light of such a fact as the following:

As early as December 19, 1776, Thomas Paine of Philadelphia published an article in the *Pennsylvania Journal* which contained the statement that "America could carry on a two years' war by the confiscation of the property of disaffected persons, and be made happy by their expulsion." Nor was Vermont the first state to confiscate, sell and turn into its treasury the proceeds of property belonging to disaffected persons, as is evidenced by the journal of the New York State Treasurer, which shows a credit under date of May 24, 1777, of cash received from the commissioners of sequestration of Dutchess County. Other records of that state show a considerable amount of property which had been sequestered and some sold, prior to the date of Allen's proposal. See *New York Treasurer's Papers; Loyalism in New York*, Flick, pp. 136-138; *State Papers of Vermont*, vol. 3, part I, pp. 6 and 7; *Governor and Council*, vol. I, pp. 134-135.

within fifteen days, out of the proceeds of the sale of the confiscated property of the enemies of the friends of America. The history and records of this council of safety are to be found in *Governor and Council*, vol. I, pp. 107-229.

The council continued in authority until March 13, 1778, upon the formal organization of the legislature under the constitution. On that date the governor, deputy governor, treasurer and council were sworn and they immediately assumed the duties of their respective offices. Their journals show that they at once became active in the work of apprehending the bodies and securing the estates of persons whom they adjudged to be inimical to the American government.

On March 25, 1778, the governor and council requested the assembly, in accordance with the recommendation of the Continental Congress, "to propose some measures which might be adopted to assertain the particular estates to be confiscated and sold for the purpose of supplying the treasury," and on the same day the assembly resolved that the whole matter be referred to the governor and council or such persons as they should appoint to carry out the business of paying claims against estates and the disposition of the "Neat Remains" for supplying the treasury, in consequence of which the governor and council appointed the court of confiscation on the following day. The text of this act is not known to be in existence at the present time, as no laws passed previous to February 13, 1779, are on record in the office of the secretary of state. However, the first entry in the volume known as *Records of the Court of Confiscation for the State of Vermont* is a copy of the above quoted request of the council and action of the assembly upon it, which it would appear the court of confiscation used as proof of authority vested in them in lieu of more formal directions. See pp. 13, 14 post; *State Papers of Vermont*, vol. 3, part I, pp. 5 and 17; *Governor and Council*, vol. I, pp. 248-249.

On March 26 the assembly passed acts for the punishment of high treason and other atrocious crimes, and against treacherous conspiracies "as such acts stand in the Connecticut Law Book." That this was an expedient used in order to get the statutes into effect without the delay which writing original acts would cause, is evidenced by the fact that on the following February 13, 1779, another act against high treason was passed by the Vermont assembly, and amended in November 1780. (*Mss. Laws of Vermont*, vol. I, pp. 26 and 191.) The adoption of these laws defining and punishing high treason and

conspiracies afforded the basis for the confiscation of estates in Vermont similar to those that had obtained in New York immediately following the Declaration of Independence. See *History of New York*, Flick, vol. 3, pp. 350-352.

The question naturally arises as to the specific procedure in the matter of sequestration, confiscation and sale of property belonging to "disaffected persons," and it is to be regretted that there is nowhere to be found among the records a concise résumé of the methods practised. Only by piecing together various early records, instructions contained in commissions and orders, reports of persons carrying out such orders, and the all too meager records of the court of confiscation itself, are we able to arrive at any conclusion.

From the records of the Old Council of Safety it appears in general, that prior to the formation of the Governor and Council, local committees of safety were authorized to investigate cases of suspected persons, try them and on sufficient evidence confine them in gaol, under guard, until they might be released by order of council. Each case was to be determined upon its merits, and the opinion of the committee as to whether any or all of the estates belonging to such persons should be forfeited was to be included in its report to the council of safety. If the evidence proved sufficient, commissioners were appointed by the council, to sequester, confiscate or sell such estates. It would seem that the business was not entered into lightly, for we find in November 1777, in transmitting to Joseph Bowker of Rutland, his commission as commissioner of sequestration, Governor Thomas Chittenden, acting as president of the council of safety, wished Bowker "wisdom and patience" in the due execution thereof. (*Governor and Council*, vol. I, p. 198.)

From March 26, 1778, the records of the court of confiscation, together with certain acts of the legislature, as reproduced in this volume, contain the only source known to the editor, of authoritative information relative to the manner in which confiscations and sales took place.

Records to be found in this volume, or those appearing in *State Papers*, vol. 3, and *Governor and Council*, do not indicate that the methods employed in disposing of the properties of the tories or the treatment accorded them and their families differed greatly from those employed by the other states then included in the Union; certainly we have no records which imply personal treatment so cruel as that which obtained in some other jurisdictions. But there appears

to have been a peculiar animosity in some quarters toward those unfortunate individuals who were both loyal to the British government and at the same time held their Vermont lands under titles obtained from New York, as not infrequently occurred. That such persons were sometimes treated with additional severity if they fell into the hands of the Vermont officers, can hardly be denied.

In order to escape persecution, like those from the other states, many tories, owners of Vermont estates, fled to Canada where they were granted lands and assistance in reestablishing homes for themselves,—or to Boston, and later, New York, where they were under the protection of the British army. Following the treaty of peace in 1783, a considerable number of these persons returned to their former homes and took the oath of allegiance to the United States, but often their position in society was not particularly enviable. The majority of those who went to Canada remained there, where they became the nucleus of thrifty and prosperous communities.

In July, 1783, the British Parliament appointed a commission of five "judicious persons," to classify and examine the claims for losses and services of American loyalists, and to make settlement thereon. More than five thousand claims were presented.

This commission first sat in England, and a considerable number of the more prominent and well-to-do claimants either went to London personally or sent their claims by agents who represented them, but it soon became evident that to do justice to all the claimants, it was necessary that their claims be examined in America where witnesses could be heard and evidence more easily introduced. Thereupon, commissioners were sent to Canada and New York to investigate and adjust these claims. These commissioners sat between the years 1785 and 1789, and examined and ordered paid claims which amounted to many millions of dollars. Among the records of this commission which have been available for study, the *Ontario Bureau of Archives Report, 1904*, and transcripts of certain of the *Audit Office Records in the Public Record Office of England* (to be found in the New York Public Library) has been found a list of nearly one hundred and fifty persons, both resident and nonresident, who claimed losses covering lands in Vermont. That these names may be made available to students, the list appears as an appendix to this volume.

State Papers of Vermont

The volumes under the general title, State Papers of Vermont, *form such valuable primary source material for many types of historical and personal investigation that we asked Mrs. Nye to supplement the chapter reprinted with a few explanatory notes covering the contents of the volumes published to date. Editor.*

The series of volumes entitled *State Papers of Vermont* has been published by the state under the direction of the secretaries of state by authority of No. 259 of the Acts of 1913, which authorized the secretary of state to prepare for publication "the charters of all towns and gores granted by the state, such volumes or parts of the papers of the surveyor general, including the reproduction of maps thereof, and such other of the manuscript records of his office as in his judgment are of general public interest."

Volume I. *Index to the Surveyor Generals' Papers,* published in 1918, is an index, arranged by towns, to the information contained in the manuscript volumes of the surveyor generals' papers lodged in the office of the secretary of state. This information includes data relating to charters, boundary lines, surveys, area, plans, incorporations, vendues, etc., and was prepared by the late Franklin H. Dewart.

Volume II. *Vermont Charters,* published in 1922, was prepared by Mr. Dewart, and contains copies of charters granted by the state of Vermont, including towns, gores and "grants," together with lists of the names of the grantees, from the charter of Bethel, dated December 23, 1779 to that of Sterling on October 18, 1805.

This volume also contains the extremely valuable historical and descriptive notes originally compiled by Hiram A. Huse, state librarian, in 1895, continued and brought up to the publication date of the volume. These notes contain a summary of the grants by the governments of France, New Hampshire and New York which covered territory now comprised in the state of Vermont. This is in addition to data relative to the grants of the government of Vermont, as well as notations on changes in town lines, consolidations, annexations, etc., together with references to source material for additional data.

Volume III. *Assembly Journals and Proceedings* (bound in four parts), consists of the journals of the general assembly from March 12, 1778 to January 27, 1791, and was edited by Vermont's historian, Walter H. Crockett.

The journals which appear in the first two parts of this volume, published in 1924 and 1925, covering March 12, 1778 to October 24, 1783, had never before been officially printed. An introduction by James Benjamin Wilbur assists greatly in evaluating the historical significance of these journals and their place in Vermont history.

Parts three and four, published in 1927 and 1929, are reprints of the assembly journals from February 19, 1784 to January 27, 1791. These journals had become exceedingly scarce, and as they contained records of many important historical events during the years just prior to Vermont's admission into the Union, they were added to Volume III. Mr. Crockett added many very valuable notes to these volumes.

VOLUME IV. *Reports of Committees to the General Assembly*, published in 1932, was also edited by Walter H. Crockett. This volume contains a compilation of selected committee reports upon various matters before the general assembly during the period from March 1778 to October 1801.

VOLUME V. *Petitions for Land*, published in 1939, contains all the petitions asking for grants of lands in Vermont which have been preserved in the archives of the secretary of state, dating from January 1, 1778 to October 9, 1811. This volume was edited by Mary Greene Nye.

VOLUME VI. *Sequestration, Confiscation and Sale of Estates*, published in 1941, contains copies of documents in the office of the secretary of state which relate to real and personal estates of the loyalists (or tories) of the Revolutionary period, including a copy of the hitherto unprinted original journal of the court of confiscation. This volume was edited by Mary Greene Nye.

THE VALLEY OF THE KEDRON
A REVIEW

By Harrison J. Conant
Librarian, Vermont State Library

The Valley of the Kedron, The Story of the South Parish, Woodstock, Vermont. By Mary Grace Canfield. Kedron Associates. Woodstock, Vermont. $2.50. 1940.

To most persons the nature of the book would be known only by the subtitle. But some know that the Kedron is a brook which flows through the village of South Woodstock and enters the Ottaquechee River at Woodstock Green. It is a small brook although there are those who love it. The author certainly is one of those; for love alone could be the incentive for the years of assiduous labor spent in gleaning the material here published. Anne Bosworth Greene is another person who must love this valley; for she has chosen it for her home and has written the Foreword of this book in the language of love.

Woodstock is favored above most towns in Vermont in having at least two residents, each of whom has written an excellent history of the town. This is a worthwhile task, for "he who faithfully records the deeds of heroes and pioneers plays his full part in the consummation of their benefit to posterity." In these days it will pay us to consider the lives of our forbears, their trials and tribulations, their force and fortitude. By lifting our eyes to the hills where they lived and where they lie buried we will gain strength to carry on our tasks which are (or will be) hard enough to require all the help we can gain from such communion.

"The prime purpose of this book" in the words of the author "is to preserve as far as possible the names of the early settlers, to show their way of life and to make the region really live." It is fair to say that she has accomplished her purpose and further words by me are really superfluous. Roughly, half of the book is devoted to the lives of individuals and the other half to the public life of the community in its varied forms. The information about individuals is extensive and their personal habits and careers are portrayed in an interesting

manner. Considerable information is given about the houses in which they lived, their location and history. Many of these houses, however, are now visible only in the mind's eye except as to their foundations.

The other half of the book tells about different phases of community life in the early days. One chapter is on the organization and activities of "The Literary Fraternity" which was founded "to improve in useful knowledge, to exercise the judgment and promote social virtues."

South Woodstock organized a "Social Library" in 1797, this being one of the earliest libraries in the state. It functioned for a hundred years and about 400 of its books are still in existence. It served especially the pupils of "The Green Mountain Liberal Institute" founded in 1848 by a group of Universalists for the education of boys and girls. This school closed in 1890, but during its life graduated many pupils who became well known. The school also greatly influenced the life of the community. The building still stands and is now used occasionally for public meetings.

Another chapter of the book is about the common schools, and the author describes many events of interest. The old school district (there were eighteen in Woodstock) was a unit of local self-government functioning without outside aid, supervision or control. The history of these districts forms an interesting and very important chapter in the history of the state, and should be better known, although present-day educators may regard them with little admiration.

The chapter on churches is also very complete and interesting. In the early days, churches were supported by "rates" (taxes) payable by all, oftentimes in wheat for lack of money.

Another chapter describes the industries of the village which were many and varied and with the home products supplied practically all the needs of the community. Much information is given about trade, including excerpts from old account books.

Two chapters are devoted to social events, marriages, entertainments and miscellaneous items of interest.

Altogether the author has portrayed a very complete picture of the life of this small community during the past one hundred and fifty years. There are also over forty illustrations from photographs and drawings that add much to the book's value. The book is well written and will prove of interest to all who desire to know how people lived in Vermont during the days of long ago.

THE ONE HUNDRED AND FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING

JANUARY 20, 1942

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PRESIDENT'S REPORT

By LEON S. GAY

Our Society today finishes one hundred and four years of service to the people of Vermont. During all these years it has devoted itself to the task of preserving for the present and future the best of the past. However, a museum of antiques and a collection of old manuscripts, papers and books, valuable as they may be, would hardly be the reason that our Society is alive today, while many other organizations have long since flourished for a time, passed away and been forgotten. Our work is based on the study of live folks, who are now past and gone, but whose influence will live as long as there are people who love Vermont and our Country. It is our right and duty to keep alive the spiritual fires which guided them in the founding of our state, to interpret their successes and failures, adding to the one, avoiding the other, so that our life today may be fuller and richer because they have lived.

More than ever today is it necessary to uphold the ideals of the founders of the Vermont Republic: Freedom in a world of slaves, Unity in a time of dissension, Democracy in a race of dictators, the individual in a movement of pawns, religious tolerance in a surge of heathenism. The Vermont Historical Society is founded on these principles and will be of service just so long as we live up to our state motto, "Freedom and Unity."

Vermont has celebrated her one hundred and fiftieth birthday this past year in a manner most fitting through a series of well-planned, well-carried-out local celebrations, culminating in a state-wide gathering in Montpelier last August. Our Society is proud to have had a prominent part in these celebrations. Professor Arthur W. Peach, one of our directors, made a splendid contribution as chairman of the Citizens Committee. Under his guidance the

Edmunds Prize Essay Contests were tuned to the theme, "Democracy in Vermont." A special medal was awarded by the Society for the best historical essay in each high school, in which twenty-one high schools took part; hundreds of school children have become interested in our history; citizens all over the state have found in our collections answers to their problems in organizing historical pageants; impetus has been given for writing many local histories; Professor Leon Dean's book, *Admission of Vermont into the Union*, published by the Society, was a notable contribution; a special exhibition of historical papers was made in our library; many hours were spent by your curators and officers in committee work—all of these items are brief suggestions of the ways in which our Society aided in our great Sesquicentennial.

We have received during the past year a bequest of $10,000 from the late Jenny C. Watts for the writing of a history of Peacham, Vermont, and we have appointed a committee from our Board to take charge of the work. This history will be written, by a competent scholar, from the large files which have been collected. A few of our towns have had histories published; some are written, but not published, but the large majority are not so fortunate. Every town has a colorful background, with much available material, which eventually will be lost unless local people are interested to preserve it. Too often valuable material is stored in a haphazard manner in a fire-trap building. While we have no funds to publish town histories, we welcome gifts of source material for safe-keeping. Peacham is fortunate indeed to have such a substantial bequest for publishing her history. This will serve as a lasting monument to the donor.

The worth of a library depends not only on the number and quality of its books and manuscripts, but even more on the use which is made of its collections. During the past year various State Departments have called for our services for documented facts and figures as well as many private groups and individuals. Our staff is always ready to render expert service to the state and public in this way. It is a matter of satisfaction to note that acknowledgment of the Society's assistance has been made in many recent publications, and particularly in the case of the recently published volume of State Papers.

Our Archeological Committee, headed by Mr. Jermain Slocum, has completed a survey of western Vermont searching for Indian sites, the excavating being in charge of Mr. Payson E. Hatch. Surveys were made in Orwell, Ferrisburg, Shelburne, Williston, Bristol, New Haven, South Burlington, Charlotte, Weybridge, Addison, Panton, and Monkton. The method used is to study a topographical map of the area; from this it is deducted where the Indians would have traveled and camped, judged by the lay of the land. Test holes are then made, and if promising evidence is found, the location is carefully excavated with hand trowels. The findings seem to prove the existence of Iroquois in the state, in addition to the Algonquin. Many valuable relics have been found, including a Red Paint burial of an Indian infant in the town of Orwell. These relics have been turned over to our Society.

The *Proceedings*, our quarterly publication, has been of high literary quality during the year, and is an important link between the work of the Society as a whole, the membership, and the state at large. Valuable original material is published and thus made available to Vermonters everywhere. No one in-

terested in Vermont history or the life of our early citizens can afford to miss the *Proceedings*. This magazine is sent free to all members and is worth far more than the membership fee of $2.00 a year.

We have made steady progress during the past year, and I feel that our revitalization program of the past two years is getting results. This is shown by new members gained; increased use of books and attendance at our rooms; over two hundred gifts received; the acquisition of a microfilm reader and microfilms; completion of the Ticonderoga and Hubbardton battle lists by March first (a coöperative project of the W.P.A. authorities and our Society); inventory of all books and manuscripts; a descriptive leaflet on our Society for general distribution; the annual conference with the New York State Historical Association. I mention these activities in a general way only, as our librarian will cover them in detail in his report.

One who but last year completed a quarter of a century as secretary of our Society is not with us today. In the passing of Phil S. Howes we have lost a faithful friend and worker, who always gave his best to our work, and whose influence will live for many years to come.

Major Harrington, who has been our treasurer for many years, has resigned because of his increased duties with the War Department. I recommend the election of Mr. Albert Slayton as treasurer. He has had thorough training as a Certified Public Accountant and is well fitted for the office.

Our treasurer's report has been rearranged this year to show more clearly our financial condition. Trust Fund income has been segregated from that available for general use, and other changes made which will result in a report easily read and understood.

During the past year we have had to use $1000 from our unrestricted fund, and this will be necessary in the budget for the coming year. We cannot avoid this if we carry on our work in an efficient manner. It is our hope that in the next few years more income will be available through new memberships and through our increased activities, so that we may keep the use of unrestricted funds to a minimum. I recommend the use of some of these funds during the duration of the war. Soon, however, we must face a condition of getting more income or drastically curtail the work we are doing, as it is not good financial policy to use up all unrestricted funds for current expenses.

I wish to thank the officers and the members of our Board of Curators; our librarian-curator, Mr. Hoyt; his assistant, Miss Lawson; and the members of the various committees for their fine coöperation with the president during the past year. Many difficult problems have been met and solved. Much time has to be devoted to the work by many people to make it successful, and this has been given generously.

We have a unique field of service to the state of Vermont and to its citizens. I feel that we have made distinct progress the past year, and with the continued coöperation of the members, Board and officers, we shall continue to make a worthwhile contribution to the cultural life of our citizens.

Librarian's Report

By Edward A. Hoyt
Librarian-Curator

Mr. President and Members of the Vermont Historical Society:

The librarian submits herewith his report for 1941. The work for the year which it describes represents the joint efforts of the Society's officers and members as well as its staff.

The following are the library statistics for 1941:

1. Attendance		16,313
General	14,504	
W.P.A. Project	1,809	
2. Recorded use of books		37,454
3. Correspondence		
Letters sent out		1,519
4. Acquisitions		
Purchases (incl. lots as single items)		104
Microfilm reels		8
Transfers from Vermont State Library		14
Colonial Dames' library		22
Gifts to library and museum		245
Loans to library and museum		6
5. Cataloguing		
Titles		104
Volumes		115
Type of material catalogued:		
Manuscripts		46
Manuscript collections		14
Account and manuscript record books		15
Pamphlets		159
Maps		19
Broadsides		71
Pictures		117
Cards added to permanent catalogues		3,483
Continuations		134
Continuations analyzed		78
Newspaper clippings		575
6. Membership		
Total, January 1, 1942		477
New Members		73
Deaths		16
Resignations		3
Members dropped		15

7. Publications

Issued	
The Admission of Vermont into the Union	502
Proceedings for March	800
Index to The Vermonter, 1914-1939, vols. 18-44	500
Proceedings for June	750
The Vermont Historical Society (leaflet)	2,100
Proceedings for September	750
Proceedings for December	750
Sold	
The Admission of Vermont into the Union	227
Other books	37
Proceedings	42
Free distribution	
The Admission of Vermont into the Union	167
Index to The Vermonter, 1914-1939, vols. 18-44	75

Comparison of these figures with those for 1940 indicates that over 4,000 more persons visited the library and museum in 1941 and that these consulted almost 6,000 more volumes than were used in the previous year. These increases were due in great measure to the interest aroused by the Sesquicentennial celebrations. In addition, 1941 was a legislative year and in consequence a large number of students in Vermont schools visited the museum in groups.

A fifty per cent increase in the volume of correspondence was again a development resulting from the Sesquicentennial. It is a matter of real satisfaction to note, however, that many inquiries concerned serious historical problems. These inquiries have received ample time and thought. Bibliographies of special fields of Vermont history have been compiled and some research into specific problems undertaken in detail. Many genealogical inquiries have been received as in past years. These have been investigated and, wherever possible, suggestions have been made and the inquirer referred to competent genealogists.

The Society continues to add to its collections by numerous purchases which cover the whole field of Vermont history. Certain of these have been outstanding and may be worthy of special notice. A manuscript letter written in November, 1780, was obtained at auction in New York. It notes what was apparently a beginning of Ethan Allen's famous negotiations with the British during the American Revolution. Of particular interest at this time is the acquisition of a collection of Civil War letters written by a draftee from Chittenden, Vermont, to his wife back home. Still another purchase of importance was that of a collection of photographs of Vermont covered bridges taken by the late W. D. Chandler of St. Albans.

An item of considerable interest was also bought for the museum. This was a spread declared to be woven by Mrs. Thomas Chittenden, wife of the first Governor of Vermont. Purchased from one of her descendants, it has numerous designs that make it an excellent museum piece.

The Vermont State Library continues to place on permanent loan in the library volumes pertaining to genealogy and town history. The Vermont

Society of Colonial Dames also continues its purchases of genealogies and places them here on loan in its special collection.

As in years past, the Society has been the recipient of numerous gifts. Time does not allow a complete list of the items or of the many generous donors. A few donations may be mentioned to illustrate the scope of these acquisitions.

The Historical Records Survey of Vermont, an agency of the Work Projects Administration, has been particularly coöperative. Through the efforts of the Reverend Samuel N. Bean, head of the Church Records Survey of this Project, the Society has received the gift of several manuscript record books of Vermont churches now no longer in existence. In the same way, the Society has been given transcripts of the history of certain Methodist churches in Vermont compiled by the Reverend Samuel G. Ayres of Burlington.

The late Colonel O. D. Clark of Montpelier presented to the Society a short time before his death a collection of Montpelier photographs and photographs of scenes during the Spanish-American War.

Mr. A. J. H. Richardson, a member of the staff of the Public Archives of Canada at Ottawa, has been most generous in supplying photostats and transcripts of material relating to Vermont in the Archives. And finally, acknowledgment should be made of the many gifts of the Charles E. Tuttle Company of Rutland with which the Society does considerable business during the year.

With the approval of the chairman of the Society's Library Committee, several exchanges have been made with other libraries. Particularly satisfactory arrangements have been made with the Library of Congress and the Middlebury College Library. From the former, the Society received useful bibliographies of maps and from the latter, early catalogues of Middlebury College and two volumes of *The Literary and Philosophical Repertory* (1812-1817) published at Middlebury.

Possibly the most significant acquisition of the year was a microfilm reader —Recordak Library Film Reader Model C. This was a major step for the Society to take. There is reason to believe that the reader may be not only of use to the Society in its work, but also to the State Library and to other State Departments.

A word or two may be said here about this acquisition. The reader which the Society has purchased is easy to operate. The image which it throws on a screen is well magnified and the vision clarified. The advantages accruing from the possession of this equipment are real. Material on Vermont history available only at distant depositories can be brought to the library at relatively low cost and blank spaces in the source material available here thereby filled in. In addition, rare items that cost an excessive amount may be obtained in microfilm for comparatively little from the increasing number of depositories that have microfilm apparatus. The space taken up by films is, of course, slight compared with that taken up by the original, and in many cases this is an important factor, particularly in that of newspapers.

During the past year the Society purchased the following material in microfilm:

1. United States Pension Claims of certain Revolutionary veterans said to be in the Ticonderoga–Crown Point Expedition of 1775. 53 claims. (2 reels.)

2. Transcripts of certain of the Audit Office Records in the Public Record Office of England. (Found in the New York Public Library.) Sections only pertaining to Loyalists who presented claims to the British commissioners for losses of estates in Vermont. (1 reel.)
3. *The Connecticut Courant*, published weekly at Hartford, Connecticut, covering the years 1764-1791. (5 reels.)

These films have already been in use. The United States Pension Claims have been of inestimable value in the completion of the projected list of men in the Ticonderoga–Crown Point Expedition of 1775. These films contain new material on the Expedition which can be of important use to historians.

The film on the Vermont Loyalists was used in connection with the editing of the recent volume of *State Papers of Vermont: Sequestration, Confiscation and Sale of Estates*. It contains a wealth of information on various phases of Loyalism in this state which may be drawn upon by future scholars. The file of the *Connecticut Courant*, already of use in connection with the W.P.A. Project, unquestionably has a mass of material on Vermont history. Prior to 1781 the *Connecticut Courant* was the paper which carried more Vermont news than any other, and this file will thus fill in a real gap in the Society's source material.

Cataloguing has progressed steadily during the year. All current purchases of books have been processed. Certain lots of material have been allowed to accumulate, so that more important back material could be catalogued. These lots have been properly marked and placed in storage, note of their location being made in our files.

Some comment may be made about the Society's membership. During the year 1941 seventy-three persons joined the Society, and during the same period thirty-four persons left its membership, sixteen through death, three through resignation, and fifteen through being dropped because of failure to keep up payment of dues. The total membership has thus increased by thirty-nine to a total of four hundred seventy-seven. Under the Society's Constitution, members in arrears for two years must be dropped and this provision has been carried out strictly this year. It may be added here that the records of the Society's membership have been re-organized, and made more convenient.

During 1941 the Society issued, in addition to the *Proceedings*, two major publications: *The Admission of Vermont into the Union* by Leon W. Dean and the *Index to the Vermonter, 1914-1939* compiled by the Free Public Library Commission. The former was distributed from the library, while the latter was distributed by the Commission. As the figures show, 167 copies of the monograph were distributed free to Vermont libraries and schools and 75 copies of the *Index* were sent to libraries without charge.

The Society also issued a leaflet descriptive of its general function and specific work. Of the twenty-one hundred copies printed, over one thousand have already been distributed either in the rooms or through correspondence. Future editions of this leaflet can be expanded and revised, the present one supplying a basis for later issues. In addition, it may be noted that new application blanks, membership bills, ordinary bills, and letterheads have been printed during the year.

Special tasks undertaken in connection with the Society's work both in the

library and outside of it are worthy of brief mention. An inventory of our books and manuscripts was taken early in the year and seventy-two items were found to be missing since 1933, when the last inventory was taken. A complete re-organization of the material in the so-called "Allen case" on the right as one enters the rooms was completed just before the beginning of the new year. This is a particularly satisfactory piece of work as all this material was thus made easily accessible for use.

The museum has not been ignored in the year's work. Brief talks on the function of the Society and the items of special interest in the museum have been given to interested individuals or groups. New items have been placed on exhibition. Other items, particularly costumes, have been marked and displayed to better advantage. In addition, at least five special exhibits on timely subjects have been presented during the year. The Society is particularly indebted to Mrs. Guy B. Horton of South Hero, Vermont, for her loan of a collection of Bennington pottery which has been on exhibition since early last summer.

Certain miscellaneous matters should be mentioned to complete a picture of the year's work. The public has been acquainted with the Society's work through numerous press releases describing the different lines of its endeavor. Two brief public addresses on the theme of the Sesquicentennial have been given by the librarian. The librarian also attended the Annual Meetings of the Society of American Archivists and the American Association for State and Local History, held at Hartford last October.

A final word may be said concerning the W.P.A. Project which the Society has been sponsoring since the summer of 1938. This project will be closed by the 1st of this March. By that time the list of men in the Ticonderoga Expedition of 1775 will be completed, only editorial work now remaining to be done on this list. The list of men engaged in the Battle of Hubbardton will also be completed prior to the end of the Project. It is planned that these two lists be published in the near future. Considerable work has also been done on the soldiers at the Battle of Bennington and under a vote of the Board of Curators a year ago the information thus collected will be turned over to the Bennington Museum.

This Project has been made possible through the wholehearted coöperation of the Work Projects Administration of this State. Its achievements are not limited to the two lists published. Its labors have had valuable by-products. The following typewritten material compiled by the Project has been placed in the Society's files:

1. An index to Vermont Loyalists found in certain sources in the Vermont Historical Society library.
2. An index of the microfilm of the pension records of certain veterans of the Revolutionary War in the library of the Vermont Historical Society.
3. An alphabetical rearrangement of Gilmore's list of New Hampshire men at the Battle of Bennington.
4. A list of New England and New York towns that have changed their names, new and old name being supplied.

More could be said about the year's work. However, this report will give the members some idea of the nature of the Society's work during the year 1941.

Secretary's Report

By Benjamin Gates

Pursuant to printed notice, the 104th Annual Meeting of the Vermont Historical Society was called to order at 2:15 o'clock in the rooms of the Society by the President, Leon S. Gay, of Cavendish.

The following members were present: Harold L. Bailey, Rev. Samuel N. Bean, Joseph W. Blakely, John P. Clement, Charles E. Crane, Frank M. Culver, Mrs. Madelyn S. Davidson, Prof. Leon W. Dean, Edward H. Deavitt, Henry Howard Eddy, Leon S. Gay, Miss C. Eleanor Hall, Maj. F. Whitney Harrington, Edward A. Hoyt, Dorman B. E. Kent, Miss Agnes K. Lawson, Rev. Vincent B. Mahoney, Frederick C. Martin, Herbert Delavan Mason, Mrs. Lottie E. R. Mills, Prof. Arthur W. Peach, Mortimer R. Proctor, Harold G. Rugg, Miss Marion Faye Stickney, and Charles E. Tuttle, Jr. Mrs. Charles T. Pierce and Dr. Alfred H. O'Connell were present as guests.

On motion of Mr. Kent, seconded by Mr. Hoyt, it was voted that the reading of the Secretary's minutes be omitted in view of the fact they had been printed in the *Proceedings*.

Mr. Gay appointed the Nominating Committee to report later a list of officers of the Society for the forthcoming year. The committee consisted of: Henry Howard Eddy, Chairman, Charles E. Tuttle, Jr., and John Clement.

The Report of the President was given by Mr. Gay. Mr. Gay reported the resignation of Major F. Whitney Harrington who had held the office of Treasurer since 1926. He recommended the name of Albert E. Slayton, C.P.A., as the new Treasurer.

Major F. Whitney Harrington gave his Report as Treasurer. Major Harrington said the Treasurer's Report would be printed in modified form in the *Proceedings* beginning this year. On motion of Mr. Clement, seconded by Mr. Hoyt, it was voted that the Treasurer's report be approved and placed on file.

Mr. Clement made a motion, seconded by Mr. Hoyt, that a resolution to be drawn up by the Librarian be adopted expressing appreciation to Major Harrington for his services as Treasurer of the Society and that it be inserted in the records. It was so voted and the following resolution was prepared:

Major F. Whitney Harrington

Whereas F. Whitney Harrington, Treasurer of the Vermont Historical Society, has resigned his office; and

Whereas he has faithfully and honestly discharged its duties since 1926 in time taken from a busy life in the service of this State and Nation; and

Whereas he has given his attention to the Society's business and welfare over and above that demanded by the emoluments of his office;

Be it resolved:

That the Vermont Historical Society express its real regret at his resignation; its sincere appreciation of his past services; and its friendly good wishes on the occasion of his severance of this relationship.

The Librarian's Report was given by Mr. Hoyt. On motion of Mr. Clement, seconded by Professor Peach, it was voted that the Librarian's report be approved.

The report of the Nominating Committee for the election of officers for the ensuing year was announced as follows by Mr. Eddy:

Election of Officers

President—Leon S. Gay, Cavendish

Vice Presidents—Elbert S. Brigham, Montpelier; Arthur W. Peach, Northfield

Secretary—Benjamin Gates, Montpelier

Treasurer—Albert E. Slayton, Montpelier

Board of Curators—Curtis R. Smith, St. Albans; Dorman B. E. Kent, Montpelier; Arthur W. Peach, Northfield; Elbert S. Brigham, Montpelier; Benjamin Gates, Montpelier; F. Whitney Harrington, Montpelier; Harold G. Rugg, Hanover, N. H.; John P. Clement, Rutland; Walter R. Hard, Manchester; John H. McDill, Woodstock; Leon W. Dean, Burlington; Mortimer R. Proctor, Proctor; Vincent B. Mahoney, Winooski Park; Wyman W. Parker, Middlebury; Harold Bergman, Burlington; Horace S. Brown, Springfield. *Ex-officio*—Leon S. Gay, Cavendish; Rawson C. Myrick, Montpelier; Harrison J. Conant, Montpelier; and David V. Anderson, Montpelier.

On motion of Mr. Hoyt, seconded by Mr. Mason, it was voted that the report of the Nominating Committee be accepted. It was then moved by Mr. Deavitt, seconded by Mr. Mason, that the Secretary cast one ballot for the election of officers as reported by the Nominating Committee and it was so voted. The Secretary cast one ballot and the new officers were declared elected.

The following Committee appointments were made by the President:

Executive Committee

Harold G. Rugg, Chairman, John Clement, Arthur W. Peach, Walter R. Hard

Finance Committee

Elbert S. Brigham, Chairman, Luman B. Howe, Henry H. Jackson

Library Committee

Harold G. Rugg, Chairman, Dorman B. E. Kent, Arthur W. Peach. *Ex-officio*—Leon S. Gay, Earle W. Newton

Membership Committee

John H. McDill, Chairman, Earle W. Newton

Printing and Publishing Committee

Arthur W. Peach, Chairman, John Clement, Walter R. Hard, Mortimer R. Proctor, Leon W. Dean.

Mr. Gay read a telegram from Col. William J. Wilgus of Ascutney ex-

pressing regret that he and Mrs. Wilgus were unable to be present at the meeting.

A letter from Mr. H. T. Waller of Akron, Ohio, was also read by Mr. Gay. Mr. Waller expressed the wish that native-born Vermonters might find it possible to keep in closer touch with the Society.

On motion of Mr. Clement, seconded by Mr. Hoyt, it was voted that the Librarian prepare a resolution in memory of Mr. Phil S. Howes who passed away this year, in appreciation of his services as Secretary of the Society for twenty-five years, and that the resolution be recorded in the minutes of the Society and a copy sent to his family. The resolution follows:

Phil S. Howes

Whereas Phil S. Howes, late Secretary of the Vermont Historical Society, died on August 19, 1941; and

Whereas his official connection with this Society extended through a quarter of a century of great devotion to its work; and

Whereas his interest in this Society as in Vermont history was keen, careful and diligent;

Be it resolved:

That the Vermont Historical Society express its deep regret at his loss; its grateful acknowledgment of his many services; and its sincere sympathy to his family in their bereavement.

Mr. Gay called upon Mr. Rugg to formulate a resolution upon the passing of Mr. Walter John Coates of North Montpelier. Mr. Rugg moved that the Librarian be instructed to write a letter in the form of a resolution expressing appreciation of the services of Mr. Coates, the contents of which are to be recorded in the Secretary's minutes, and that a letter be sent to the family. The resolution follows:

Walter J. Coates

Whereas Walter John Coates, late a member of the Vermont Historical Society, died July 29, 1941; and

Whereas his devotion to the work of this Society was genuine and of long standing and his contributions to its collections many and generous;

Whereas his scholarship in Vermont history was productive and his interest in Vermont literature creative;

Be it resolved:

That the Vermont Historical Society express its deep regret at his loss; its respectful acknowledgment of his public services; and its sincere sympathy to his family in their bereavement.

Mr. Clement made a motion, seconded by Mr. Hoyt, that Mr. Kent draft a resolution in tribute to Mr. Charles Miner Thompson, a copy of which is to be incorporated into the records and sent to his family. The resolution follows:

Charles Miner Thompson

Whereas Charles Miner Thompson passed away December 19th last, full of years and many honors; therefore, be it resolved that the members of the Vermont Historical Society here assembled make proper recognition of the good and able man.

He was born in Montpelier in 1864, a grandson of Daniel Pierce Thompson, author of a History of Montpelier, Vermont, and of many short stories and novels, among which the best known was the Green Mountain Boys, one of the most widely read New England books written in that century, a work which still lives. Charles Thompson received his early education in the Montpelier schools, was graduated from Harvard in 1886, and at once entered into a busy life.

He was literary editor of the Boston Advertiser, 1887-1890, associate editor, 1890-1911, editor-in-chief of the Youth's Companion, 1911-1925, when he retired from newspaper work. After leaving his editorship of the Youth's Companion, he was eleven years associated with the Harvard Chapter of Phi Beta Kappa. During his long and active career in literature, he wrote several children's books, translated six volumes from the French and frequently contributed to historical magazines.

For fifty years he was a well known and respected man in the literary and historical circles of Boston, always proud of his native Vermont, and he devoted the last ten years of his life to writing the book which deals with our State from before the Revolutionary War until its admission into the Union in 1791. His past four summers were passed in this library, diligently laboring on his book which was published in 1942 and entitled Independent Vermont. He was certainly a master of early Vermont history, and this volume which takes high place, now and in the future, among books with the early decades of his native State's existence, was Mr. Thompson's crowning achievement.

Those in Montpelier who knew him well, and there were many, admired his genial manner, his happy way and earnest purpose. Although after reaching manhood Massachusetts was his home, he did not forget Vermont, and it was here in this library in Montpelier that he loved to be.

There has never lived a more loyal son of any State than he, and it was indeed fitting that his last labor in life, the book, Independent Vermont, stands as a monument to the honored memory of a friend to man, Charles Miner Thompson; therefore,

Be it resolved that these words be written in the records of this Society and that copies of them be sent to his widow, son and daughter.

After closing comments on the work of the Society by President Gay, on motion of Mr. Hoyt, seconded by Mr. Clement, it was voted that the meeting adjourn at 3:00 p. m.

Treasurer's Report

By F. Whitney Harrington

To the Officers and Members of the Vermont Historical Society:

I have the honor to submit the following report for the calendar year ending December 31, 1941.

Respectfully submitted,

F. Whitney Harrington.

January 17, 1942.

Mr. F. Whitney Harrington, Treasurer,
Vermont Historical Society,
Montpelier, Vermont.

Dear Sir:

In accordance with your instructions I have examined the books and records of the Vermont Historical Society, of Montpelier, Vermont, for the period from January 1, 1941 to December 31, 1941.

Herewith are submitted the following statements which comprise the results of my examination:

EXHIBIT "A"—Statement of Resources by Funds as of December 31, 1941
EXHIBIT "B"—Statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements by Funds from January 1 to December 31, 1941
EXHIBIT "C"—Schedule of Market Values of Investments as of December 31, 1941
EXHIBIT "D"—Comparative Statements of Market Values of Investments as of December 31, 1940 and 1941

AUDITOR'S CERTIFICATE

I have compared the attached Statement of Resources by Funds (Exhibit "A") with the books and records pertaining thereto of the Vermont Historical Society as of December 31, 1941, and the Statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements by Funds (Exhibit "B") for the period from January 1, 1941, to December 31, 1941.

I have verified all items representing resources of the Society except the Edmunds Principal Trust Fund balance of $13,794.46 which represents the amount as carried on the books of the Society.

I hereby certify, that in my opinion, the attached Statement of Resources by Funds (Exhibit "A") reflects a fair and true exhibit of the financial condition of the Society as of December 31, 1941.

Respectfully submitted,

(*Signed*) Frederick A. Mayo,
Accountant and Auditor.

GENERAL COMMENTS:

The net decrease in resources for the year ended December 31, 1941 over the preceding year amounted to $1,896.77.

The net decrease in market values for the year ended December 31, 1941 over the preceding year 1940 amounted to $6,320.14. A comparative statement of market values pertaining to the Society's investments as of December 31, 1940 and December 31, 1941 is set forth in Exhibit "D".

Income from interest and dividends did not include a dividend of $87.50 received in January, 1942 on New England Telephone and Telegraph Company stock.

Interest on savings accounts amounting to approximately $200.00 and credited as of January 1, 1942 was not included as income as it is now the policy of the Society to include as interest income only the actual cash received.

In prior years the Society has not withdrawn current interest earned from its savings accounts. Therefore, each semi-annual interest addition as of July 1 of the current year and as of January 1 of the subsequent year was included as interest earned for the year under review.

EXHIBIT "A"

Statement of Resources by Funds as of December 31, 1941

Current Fund:		
Cash in Bank (Exhibit "B")		$ 1,193.68
Unrestricted Funds:		
Savings Account No. 14755	$ 4,762.59	
10643	490.50	
26100	4,639.01	
53211	3,202.75	
Total Unrestricted Funds (Exhibit "B")		13,094.85
Trust Funds for Specific Purposes:		
Dewey Monument Fund:		
Savings Account No. 24813	3,544.42	
Certificate of Participation in Montpelier Savings Bank (4,262 shares at $1.00)	4,262.00	
Dewey Monument Fund Balance (Exhibit "B")	$ 7,806.42	
Edmunds Prize Contest Funds:		
Principal Trust Fund	13,794.46	
Accumulated Interest	1,445.44	
Edmunds Prize Contest Funds Balance (Exhibit "B")	15,239.90	
Total Trust Funds for Specific Purposes		23,046.32

Trust Funds for General Endowment:

Capital Increase, $534.21; Wilbur Fund, $100,000.00; Life Memberships, $2,450.00; invested as follows:

Stocks:			
American Tel. & Tel., 50 Com. ..	5,998.32		
Ches. & Ohio R.R., 1 Pfd.	95.00		
Ches. & Ohio R.R., 50 Com.	2,385.22		
Conn. Lt. & Power, 50, 5½ Pfd.	4,925.21		
Duquesne Lt. & Power, 50, 5½ Pfd.	5,150.00		
N. E. Tel. & Tel., 50 Com.	4,743.03		
Total Stock Investments		23,296.78	
Savings Accounts:			
Account No. 53211	1,504.88		
23533	4,692.34		
Total Savings Accounts		6,197.22	
Bonds:			
At. Top. & Santa Fe, Gen. 4s	5,093.93		
Govt. Dom. of Canada, 3s	4,866.74		
Cons. Fed. Farm Loan, 3s	9,950.00		
Narragansett Elec. Co., 3½s "A"	10,305.36		
N. E. Tel. & Tel., 4½s "B"	10,925.00		
Mich. Cons. Gas Co., 1st Mtg., 4s "A"	4,968.06		
Ohio Edison Co., 3¾s	5,309.90		
U. S. Savings Bond, Ser. "D"	7,700.00		
Jersey Gen. Pow. & Lt., 3½s	5,187.22		
Am. Tel. & Tel., Temp. Debenture 3%	100.00		
Am. Tel. & Tel., Temp. Debenture 3%	500.00		
Central Ill. Pub. Ser., 1st Mtg., 3⅜s "A"	8,584.00		
Total Bond Investments		73,490.21	
Total Trust Funds for General Endowment (Exhibit "B")			102,984.21
TOTAL RESOURCES			$140,319.06
SURPLUS			$140,319.06

EXHIBIT "B"

Statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements by Funds from January 1 to December 31, 1941

Current Fund

Cash in Bank, Jan. 1, 1941			$ 1,872.88
Cash Receipts:			
General Purposes:			
Interest Reserve		$ 1,000.00	
Interest:			
Bond Investments	$ 2,200.00		
Savings Accounts	220.98		
		2,420.98	
Dividends		1,419.48	
Current Dues		761.00	
Other Dues		102.00	
Sale of Books:			
Dean	310.41		
Other	100.37		
		410.78	
Sale of *Proceedings*		36.87	
Miscellaneous Income:			
Appropriation to June 30, 1942		2,500.00	
Total		8,651.11	
Other Purposes:			
Edmunds Savings Account		791.96	
Gain on Sale of Bonds		175.00	
Refunds		49.10	
Gift		1.00	
Edmunds Refund for 1940		603.33	
Miscellaneous Items		5.07	
		1,625.46	
Total Cash Receipts			10,276.57
Total Cash			12,149.45
Cash Disbursements:			
General Purposes:			
Salaries		4,239.80	
Proceedings		2,600.86	
Publishing		639.23	
Books and Manuscripts		1,238.46	
Library		494.17	
Travel		56.14	

W.P.A. Project		458.15	
Miscellaneous		163.18	
Total		9,889.99	
Other Purposes:			
Edmunds Savings Account		791.96	
Miscellaneous		5.07	
Total		797.03	
Total Cash Disbursements			10,687.02
Balance of Cash, Current Acct.			1,462.43

Investment Transfers

Transfers to Investments from Cash:			
Gain on Sale of Bonds		175.00	
Interest Income on Bonds Sold		93.75	
			268.75
Cash in Bank, Dec. 31, 1941 (Exhibit "A")			1,193.68

Unrestricted Funds

Balance, Jan. 1, 1941		14,094.85	
Add: Interest Income		127.98	
		14,222.83	
Deduct:			
Transfers to Cash:			
Interest Income	127.98		
Reserve Fund Cash	1,000.00	1,127.98	
Balance Dec. 31, 1941 (Exhibit "A")			13,094.85

Dewey Monument Fund

Balance, Jan. 1, 1941		7,728.91	
Add: Interest Income		77.51	
Balance, Dec. 31, 1941 (Exhibit "A")			7,806.42

Edmunds Prize Contest Funds

Balance, Jan. 1, 1941		16,069.19	
Add: Interest Income		566.00	
		16,635.19	

Deduct:		
Transfers to Cash	1,395.29	
Balance, Dec. 31, 1941 (Exhibit "A")		15,239.90

Wilbur and Life Membership Endowment Funds

Balance, Jan. 1, 1941	102,450.00	
Add: Interest Income:		
Bonds	2,200.00	
Savings Accounts	93.00	
Dividends	1,419.48	
	3,712.48	
	106,162.48	
Deduct:		
Transfers of Interest and Dividends to Cash	3,712.48	
	102,450.00	
Add:		
Capital Increases:		
Gain on Sale of Bond*	175.00	
Increase in U. S. Govt. Bond	100.00	
Interest Income on Bond Pch.	93.75	
Other Increases	165.46	
	534.21	
Balance, Dec. 31, 1941 (Exhibit "A")		$102,984.21

EXHIBIT "C"

Schedule of Market Values of Investments as of December 31, 1941

Stocks:	
Am. Tel. & Tel., Com., 50 Shares at 128⅞	$ 6,443.75
Ches. & Ohio R.R., Pfd., 1 Share at 95	95.00
Ches. & Ohio R.R., Com., 50 Shares at 33⅜	1,668.75
†Conn. Lt. & Power, Pfd., 50 Shares at 112	5,600.00
Duquesne Lt. & Power, Pfd., 50 Shares at 114	5,700.00
N. Eng. Lt. & Power, Com., 50 Shares at 101¾	5,087.50
Total Stocks	$ 24,595.00

* Central Ill. Pub. Ser., 1st Mtg., 3¾s.
† Called.

Bonds:		
Am. Tel. & Tel., 3% Temp. Deb., $100, 108½	108.50	
Am. Tel. & Tel., 3% Temp. Deb., $500, 108½	542.50	
At. Top. & Santa Fe, Gen. 4s, $5,000, 107⅛ ...	5,356.25	
Govt. of Dom. of Canada, 3s, $5,000, 94⅝	4,731.25	
Cons. Fed. Farm Loan, 3s, $10,000, 108	10,800.00	
Narragansett Elect. Co., 3½s "A", $10,000, 109	10,900.00	
N. E. Tel. & Tel., 4½s "B", $10,000, 124¼ ...	12,425.00	
Mich. Cons. Gas Co., 1st Mtg., 4s, $5,000, 105¼	5,262.50	
Ohio Edison Co., 1st Mtg., 3½s, $5,000, 108 ...	5,400.00	
U. S. Savings Bond, Ser. "D", $10,000, 770	7,700.00	
Cen. Ill. Pub. Ser. Co., 1st Mtg., 3⅜s "A", $8,000, 101¾	8,380.00	
Jersey Cen. Power & Lt., 3⅛s, $5,000, 105	5,250.00	
Total Bonds		76,856.00
Savings Accounts		19,292.07
Edmunds Funds		15,239.90
Cash in Bank		1,193.68
		137,176.65
Dewey Funds (Mont. Sav. Bank Stock at $.10 per Share)		3,970.62
Total Market Values of Investments		$141,147.27

EXHIBIT "D"

Comparative Statements of Market Values of Investments as of December 31, 1940 and 1941

		Dec. 31, 1941		*Dec. 31, 1940*		*Increase Decrease**
Stocks:						
Am. Tel. & Tel., 50 Shares		128⅞	$ 6,443.75	167¾	$ 8,387.50	$1,943.75*
Ches. & Ohio R.R., 50 Shares		33⅜	1,668.75	43	2,150.00	481.25*
Ches. & Ohio R.R., Pfd., 1 Share		95	95.00	99⅞	99.88	4.88*
Conn. Lt. & Pow., Pfd., 50 Shares		112	5,600.00	117½	5,875.00	275.00*
Duquesne Lt. & Pow., Pfd., 50 Shares		114	5,700.00	116½	5,825.00	125.00*
N. E. Tel. & Tel., Com., 50 Shares		101¾	5,087.50	125½	6,275.00	1,187.50*
Total Stocks			24,595.00		28,612.38	4,017.38*
Bonds:						
At. Top. & Santa Fe, Gen. 4s	$ 5,000	107⅛	5,356.25	99½	4,975.00	381.25
Govt. Dom. of Canada, 3s	5,000	94⅝	4,731.25	78¼	3,912.50	818.75
Cons. Fed. Farm Loan, 3s	10,000	108	10,800.00	108½	10,850.00	50.00*
Narragansett Elec. Co., 3½s "A"	10,000	109	10,900.00	110½	11,050.00	150.00*
N. E. Tel. & Tel., 4½s "B"	10,000	124¼	12,425.00	130	13,000.00	575.00*
Cen. Ill. Pub. Ser., 3¾s	5,000		(Sold)	107¼	5,362.50	5,362.50*
Mich. Cons. Gas Co., 1st Mtg., 4s	5,000	105¼	5,262.50	106¼	5,312.50	50.00*
Ohio Edison Co., 3¾s	5,000	108	5,400.00	110¼	5,512.50	112.50*
U. S. Sav. Bonds, Ser. "D"	10,000	770	7,700.00	760	7,600.00	100.00
Jersey Cen. Pow. & Lt., 3⅛s	5,000	105	5,250.00	107	5,350.00	100.00*
Am. Tel. & Tel., 3%, Temp. Deb.	100	108½	108.50			108.50
Am. Tel. & Tel., 3%, Temp. Deb.	500	108½	542.50			542.50
Cen. Ill. Pub. Ser., 1st Mtg., 3⅜s	8,000	104¾	8,380.00			8,380.00
Total Bonds			76,856.00		72,925.00	3,931.00

Savings Accounts	19,292.07	24,094.85	4,802.78*
Edmunds Funds	15,239.90	16,069.19	829.29*
Cash in Bank	1,193.68	1,872.88	679.20*
	137,176.65	143,574.30	6,397.65*
Dewey Funds (Mont. Sav. Bank Stock at $.10 per Share)	3,970.62	3,893.11	77.51
Total Market Values	$141,147.27	$147,467.41	$6,320.14*

* Decrease.

LIST OF MEMBERS

HONORARY MEMBERS

Hon. Charles H. Darling	Burlington

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS

Edward R. Houghton	Cambridge, Mass.
George D. Lord	Hanover, N. H.

LIFE MEMBERS

William S. Barstow	Great Neck, N. Y.
Edwin A. Bayley	Boston, Mass.
Laura Morse Bayley	Newbury
Mrs. Lucia W. Bayley	Boston, Mass.
Horace S. Brown	Springfield
George H. Catlin	Scranton, Pa.
Herbert C. Comings	Richford
Mrs. Annie F. David	Philadelphia, Pa.
Walter Frederick Dickinson	Jericho, L. I., N. Y.
Mrs. Martha C. Fabyan	Springfield, Mass.
Fanny B. Fletcher	Proctorsville
Major F. Whitney Harrington	Montpelier
Charles Fred Heartman	Hattiesburg, Miss.
S. A. Howard	Rutland
Fred A. Howland	Montpelier
Phillip B. Jennings	New York, N. Y.
A. Atwater Kent	Ardmore, Pa.
Dorman B. E. Kent	Montpelier
Miss Agnes K. Lawson	Montpelier
Frank Lord	New York, N. Y.
Hall Park McCullough	No. Bennington
Frank C. Partridge	Proctor
Sanborn Partridge	Proctor
Miss Alice Lucinda Priest	Brookline, Mass.
Miss Emily Dutton Proctor	Proctor
Mrs. Fredrika G. Proctor	Washington, D. C.
Mortimer R. Proctor	Proctor
Redfield Proctor	Proctor
Robert D. Proctor	Proctor
Harold G. Rugg	Hanover, N. H.
Miss Jean W. Simpson	E. Craftsbury
H. Jermain Slocum	Charleston, S. C.
John Spargo	Old Bennington

Mrs. Helen M. Strohecker	Utica, N. Y.
Mrs. Emily P. Telfer	Berkeley, Calif.
Charles E. Tuttle	Rutland
Charles E. Tuttle, Jr.	Rutland
Riford R. Tuttle	Rutland
Miss Mary E. Waterman	Williamstown
J. Watson Webb	Shelburne
Mrs. J. Watson Webb	Shelburne
Frank J. Wilder	Somerville, Mass.
Col. William J. Wilgus	Ascutneyville
Daniel Willard	Baltimore, Md.
Mrs. Alice F. Woodcock	Vergennes
Mrs. Susan Kellogg Wright	Westminster

ACTIVE MEMBERS

Capt. Horace Mills Abrams	Albany, N. Y.
Daniel L. Adams	Northfield, Minn.
Frederic C. Adams	Brattleboro
Harold J. Adams	Buffalo, N. Y.
Porter H. Adams	Boston, Mass.
Mrs. Lillian M. Ainsworth	Montpelier
A. Vail Allen	Fair Haven
Miss Florence Cragin Allen	Middlebury
Joseph D. Allen	Brooklyn, N. Y.
J. Ashton Allis	New York, N. Y.
David V. Anderson	Montpelier
George P. Anderson	Boston, Mass.
Charles M. Andrews	New Haven, Conn.
Dr. F. C. Angell	Randolph
Dr. Francis J. Arnold	Burlington
Mark R. Arnold	Chicago, Ill.
Flynn G. Austin	Middlebury
Warren R. Austin	Burlington
Mrs. Henry Meredith Backus	New York, N. Y.
Hamilton Vaughan Bail	Hartland
George C. Bailey	Montpelier
Harold L. Bailey	Montpelier
John H. Bailey	Davenport, Ia.
Dr. Clarence Franklin Ball	Rutland
Rev. Henry Lincoln Ballou	Chester
Paul H. Ballou	Chester
William John Ballou	Chester
T. D. Seymour Bassett	Burlington
Mrs. Louise P. Batcheller	Wallingford
Madison Clair Bates	Maplewood, N. J.
Mary R. Bates	Burlington
Allen P. Beach	Vergennes

Rev. Samuel Nelson Bean	Concord
Mrs. William H. Beardsley	Springfield
H. C. Belcher	Proctor
Miss Hilda Belcher	New York, N. Y.
Bennington Battle Monument and Historical Association	Old Bennington
Harold Bergman	Burlington
The Billings Library, University of Vermont	Burlington
Elliot Walter Bisbee	Concord, Mass.
Charles F. Blair	Buffalo, N. Y.
Joseph W. Blakely	Montpelier
Miss Helen W. Blanchard	Springfield
Herbert H. Blanchard	Springfield
Prof. Walter T. Bogart	Middlebury
Jesse P. Bogue	Poultney
Almon I. Bolles	Bellows Falls
Mrs. Margaret L. Boody	Englewood, N. J.
Charles Barry Borden	Woodstock
Bowdoin College Library	Brunswick, Me.
Guy H. Boyce	Proctor
Donald M. Boyer	Northfield
Thomas J. Boynton	Arlington, Mass.
Richards M. Bradley	Boston, Mass.
William F. Branch	Champlain, N. Y.
Mrs. Stickney Branliere	Bethel
Elbert S. Brigham	Montpelier
Frank M. Bryan	Canaan
Blanche B. Bryant	Springfield
Ellsworth Bunker	New York, N. Y.
Mrs. Ellsworth Bunker	New York, N. Y.
Miss Helen E. Burbank	Montpelier
Mrs. George W. Burnes	Montpelier
John S. Buttles	Brandon
Col. Reginald W. Buzzell	Camp Blanding, Fla.
Timothy E. Byrnes	St. Petersburg, Fla.
Miss Hermione Canfield	Manchester
Mrs. Mary Grace Canfield	Woodstock
Prof. D. B. Carroll	Burlington
Newman K. Chaffee	Rutland
Mrs. Margaret K. Chapin	Barrington, R. I.
Mrs. William H. Chapin	Chelsea
Mrs. Elsie B. Chatterton	Vergennes
Thomas C. Cheney	Morrisville
The University of Chicago Libraries	Chicago, Ill.
Sargent B. Child	Washington, D. C.
Miss Elsie A. Choate	Peacham
Dr. E. R. Clark	Castleton
Henry W. Clark	New York, N. Y.
Henry Wood Clement	Rutland

Mrs. Henry W. Clement	Rutland
John P. Clement	Rutland
David G. Cobb	Cheney, Wash.
Dr. Gardner N. Cobb	Worcester, Mass.
James C. Colgate	New York, N. Y.
Mrs. Bertha Miller Collins	Westminster
Mrs. Alice Frink Colton	Springfield, Mass.
Dr. Edwin A. Colton	Montpelier
John M. Comstock	Chelsea
Harrison J. Conant	Montpelier
Dr. Benjamin F. Cook	Rutland
Guy Omeron Coolidge	Rutland
Mrs. Omeron H. Coolidge	Rutland
Frank C. Corry	Montpelier
William F. Corry	Montpelier
Clifford E. Cory	Putney
Charles E. Crane	Montpelier
R. D. Crawford	Akron, Ohio
Albert Cree	Rutland
Henry C. Culver	Brattleboro
Rev. John G. Currier	Bellows Falls
Stanley Martin Curtis	Bradford
Hurlbut B. Cutting	Los Angeles, Cal.
George N. Dale	Island Pond
Mrs. Gertrude Daniels	Grafton
Mrs. Madelyn S. Davidson	Rutland
Mrs. Marion F. Davies	Lower Waterford
George H. Davis	Proctor
Lt.-Col. Merle H. Davis	Franklin
Dr. Stephen R. Davis	Lynn, Mass.
George C. Day	Lincoln, Neb.
Prof. Leon W. Dean	Burlington
Edward H. Deavitt	Montpelier
Bert R. Demeritt	Waterbury
Dr. Davis R. Dewey	Cambridge, Mass.
George Goodwin Dewey	Chicago, Ill.
Miss Helen Griggs Dewey	Montpelier
James F. Dewey	Quechee
Maurice W. Dewey	Montpelier
Mrs. Frederick R. Dickerman	Bristol
Paul Dillingham	Northfield
Prof. Leon E. Dix	Northfield
Gilbert H. Doane	Madison, Wis.
Mrs. Maude L. Doane	Fairfield
E. Lawrence Dudley	Camden, N. J.
Guy Du Val	New York, N. Y.
William H. Dyer	Montpelier
Henry Howard Eddy	No. Clarendon

Halsey C. Edgerton	Hanover, N. H.
William Henry Eldridge	Twin Falls, Idaho
Miss Mary W. Ellis	Springfield
William A. Ellis	Montpelier
Zenas H. Ellis	Fair Haven
Fred Azro Emery	Washington, D. C.
D. Llewellyn Evans	Worcester, Mass.
William M. Evarts	New York, N. Y.
Mrs. Zephine H. Fahnestock	Dorset
Charles H. Farnsworth	Thetford
Miss Shirley Farr	Brandon
John Farrar	New York, N. Y.
Mrs. Harriet Knight Felder	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Pvt. O. A. Ferguson	Nichols Field, P. I.
Miss Bertha I. Field	No. Springfield
Charles K. Field	New York, N. Y.
Edward D. Field	Montpelier
Fred T. Field	Newton, Mass.
William Field	Rutland
Mrs. Dorothy Canfield Fisher	Arlington
Miss Josephine Fisher	Bryn Mawr, Pa.
Miss Miriam Fitts	Montpelier
Osmer C. Fitts	Brattleboro
Mrs. Helen Hartness Flanders	Springfield
Ralph E. Flanders	Springfield
William R. Folsom	South Hero
Ralph T. Freihofer	Boston, Mass.
Edward S. French	Springfield
Harold F. French	Winchester, Mass.
J. H. Frenier	Rutland
John E. Gale	Guilford
John R. Gardner	Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Mrs. Sally Field Gardner	Buffalo, N. Y.
Benjamin Gates	Montpelier
Leon S. Gay	Cavendish
Howard Everett Giles	So. Woodstock
Mrs. Howard Everett Giles	So. Woodstock
Waldo F. Glover	Winchester, Mass.
Edward B. Gordon	New Haven, Conn.
Grand Lodge of Vermont Masons	Burlington
Mrs. Fanny Hastings Gray	Middletown Springs
Wanda Greineisen	Gaysville
Capt. Lorenzo F. Hagglund	Co. C, Camp Upton, N. Y.
Norman B. Hall	Chevy Chase, Md.
Walter R. Hard	Manchester
Clarence H. Haskins	Montpelier
William D. Hassett	Washington, D. C.
Anthony Haswell	Dayton, Ohio

Marvin E. Hatch	Hartland
Mrs. Samuel Hay	Newport News, Va.
Gertrude S. Hayes	Syracuse, N. Y.
William D. Hayes	Bangor, Me.
Prof. Tracy E. Hazen	New York, N. Y.
Mrs. L. A. Heidel	Rutland
Alfred H. Heininger	Burlington
John C. Hennessey, Sr.	Bellows Falls
Mary E. Hewitt	Auburn, Mass.
Edwin L. Hildreth	Brattleboro
Miss Ethel W. Hill	Bellows Falls
Dr. James S. Hill	Bellows Falls
Mrs. William A. Hill	Isle La Motte
William H. Hill	Fort Edward, N. Y.
Mrs. Alice B. Hobart	Chapel Hill, N. C.
F. C. Holbrook	Brattleboro
Stewart Holbrook	Seattle, Wash.
John M. Holcombe, Jr.	Farmington, Conn.
A. John Holden, Jr.	Danville
Hermon D. Hopkins	Montpelier
John H. Hopkins	Grand Isle
Mrs. Guy B. Horton	South Hero
George H. Howard	Jersey City, N. J.
Harry S. Howard	Burlington
Clifton D. Howe	Toronto, Canada
David W. Howe	Burlington
Frank E. Howe	Bennington
George W. Howe	Springfield, Mass.
Harland B. Howe	Burlington
Luman B. Howe	Montpelier
Miss Mildred B. Howes	Montpelier
Mrs. Fred A. Howland	Montpelier
Edward A. Hoyt	Montpelier
Mrs. Mabel D. Hoyt	Castleton
Ray W. Huse	Montpelier
Charles M. Hutchinson	Cambridge, Mass.
George Edward Hyde	Montpelier
Dr. Fred K. Jackson	Burlington
Henry Hollister Jackson	Barre
P. J. Jeffords	Williamstown
Burges Johnson	Schenectady, N. Y.
Mrs. C. K. Johnson	Essex Jct.
Miss Elizabeth F. Johnson	Woodstock
Dr. Norris O. Johnson	Halifax
Mrs. Anna Clark Jones	Brookfield
Edward H. Jones	Waitsfield
Lawrence C. Jones	Rutland
Pvt. Edwin H. Keast	Camp Edwards, Falmouth, Mass.

Fred A. Keegan	Montpelier
Dr. F. O. Kendall	New York, N. Y.
Frank M. Kendal	Montpelier
Edward H. Kenerson	Winchester, Mass.
Ira Rich Kent	Boston, Mass.
Arthur H. Keyes	Rutland
Earle S. Kinsley	Rutland
Rev. Frank J. Knapp	Montpelier
Miss Genieve Lamson	Randolph
Mrs. Bella C. Landauer	New York, N. Y.
Mrs. Sealand C. Landon	Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
Ben B. Lane	Burlington
George B. Lane	Minneapolis, Minn.
Mrs. Sarah E. Lane	Middlebury
Leon D. Latham	Milton
Hubbel Lathrop	New York, N. Y.
Linwood B. Law	Buffalo, N. Y.
Prof. Leo Rich Lewis	Tufts College, Mass.
Prof. Julian Ira Lindsay	Burlington
Mrs. Elinor W. Locke	Lexington, Mass.
Errol H. Locke	Lexington, Mass.
Sotirios S. Lontos	New York, N. Y.
Miss Maude B. Louis	Swampscott, Mass.
Herman S. Lovejoy	New Haven, Conn.
Henry M. Lull	Houston, Tex.
Albert M. Lyon	Boston, Mass.
Mrs. A. Edward MacDougall	Madison, Conn.
Eugene W. Magnus	Waterbury
Walter B. Mahony	Scarborough-on-Hudson, N. Y.
Rev. Alba M. Markey	Lyndonville
Coburn L. Martin	Burlington
Frederick C. Martin	Burlington
Harold W. Mason	Brattleboro
Ozias D. Mathewson	Lyndon Center
Virgil L. McCarty	Montpelier
John H. McDill	Woodstock
George M. McFarland	Richmond, Va.
William R. McFeeters	St. Albans
Mary E. McKeough	Rutland
William M. Meacham	Boston, Mass.
Carl A. Mead	New York, N. Y.
George W. Mead	Middlebury
Middlebury College Library	Middlebury
Garfield H. Miller	White River Jct.
Mrs. Lottie E. R. Mills	Montpelier
David T. Montague	Boston, Mass.
Owen Moon	Woodstock
Ernest E. Moore	Ludlow

Col. Charles F. Morse	San Francisco, Cal.
Clarence E. Moulton	Montpelier
Harry B. Moulton	Montpelier
Sherman R. Moulton	Burlington
Charles A. Munroe	St. Jean, Cap Ferrat, A.M., France
Mrs. Mary C. Munson	Manchester
Rawson C. Myrick	Montpelier
Ray Nash	Hanover, N. H.
The Newberry Library	Chicago, Ill.
Miss Ellen H. Newton	Cincinnati, Ohio
Mrs. L. Augusta Norton	Vergennes
Norwich University Library	Northfield
Mrs. Mary G. Nye	Berlin
Prof. Thomas F. O'Connor	Syracuse, N. Y.
John C. Orcutt	Chester
Wilmond W. Parker	Bethel
Wyman W. Parker	Middlebury
Prof. Arthur W. Peach	Northfield
Mrs. Kate Field Peake	Bristol
Miss Mary E. Pease	Burlington
Archie M. Peisch	Norwich
John Pell	New York, N. Y.
Stephen H. P. Pell	Fort Ticonderoga, N. Y.
Loren R. Pierce	Woodstock
George S. Pingree	Newton Centre, Mass.
William S. Pingree	Hartford
Park H. Pollard	Proctorsville
Prof. Thomas Reed Powell	Cambridge, Mass.
Donald W. Prakken	Staten Island, N. Y.
Harry C. Pratt	Proctor
George C. Prime	W. Hartford, Conn.
Prof. Herbert E. Putnam	Burlington
Ralph W. Putnam	Waterbury
Berne A. Pyrke	Albany, N. Y.
Miss Dorothy Randolph	Montpelier
Mrs. Grace W. W. Reed	Manchester
Howard C. Rice	Brattleboro
Mrs. W. B. Richardson	Montpelier
Paul T. Rickert	Brandon
Prof. Clarence W. Rife	St. Paul, Minn.
Mrs. Elizabeth M. Rixford	E. Highgate
Oscar A. Rixford	E. Highgate
Herbert R. Roberts	Northfield
Miss Frieda C. Robertson	Bellows Falls
A. E. Robinson	Minneapolis, Minn.
S. G. B. Robinson	Toronto, Canada
Benjamin D. Rogers	E. Walpole, Mass.
Rev. Rodney W. Roundy	Portland, Me.

Malcolm D. Rudd	Lakeville, Conn.
Dr. G. A. Russell	Arlington
Rutland Free Library	Rutland
Edward J. Ryan	Jackson Heights, N. Y.
Daniel F. Ryder	Waterbury
St. Johnsbury Athenaeum	St. Johnsbury
Miss Beulah M. Sanford	Cornwall
Miles S. Sawyer	Rutland
Allyn Ross Scott	Watertown, N. Y.
Miss Lillian A. Scott	New York, N. Y.
Mrs. Sherwood Seeley	Stapleton, N. Y.
Edmund Seymour	New York, N. Y.
Miss Katharine J. Shaw	Montpelier
John C. Sherburne	Randolph
Clifton L. Sherman	Hartford, Conn.
Dr. Venila L. Shores	Tallahassee, Fla.
Alfred D. Simpson	Cambridge, Mass.
Miss Mary Jean Simpson	Burlington
Mrs. W. Arthur Simpson	Lyndonville
D. A. Skelly	Burlington
Mrs. Mary B. Slade	Thetford
Clarence L. Smith	Burlington
Curtis R. Smith	St. Albans
Donald W. Smith	Barre
G. H. Smith	Lewis, N. Y.
George D. Smith	Burlington
George E. P. Smith, Jr.	Akron, Ohio
Henry G. Smith	Rutland
J. Gregory Smith	St. Albans
Miss Mae S. Smith	Burlington
Richard C. Southgate	White River Jct.
Frederick A. Spencer	Northfield
Joseph B. Stack	New York, N. Y.
Morton Stack	New York, N. Y.
Wendell P. Stafford	Washington, D. C.
B. F. Stevens & Brown, Ltd.	London, Eng.
Charles D. Stevens	Lyndonville
Mrs. Celia Stickle	Manchester
Howard T. Swain	Woodstock
Henry W. Taft	New York, N. Y.
Robert A. Taft	Cincinnati, Ohio
Mrs. Gertrude S. R. Thayer	Brattleboro
William N. Theriault	Montpelier
Dr. John M. Thomas	Northfield
George Z. Thompson	Proctor
Mrs. Louisa M. Torrance	Akron, Ohio
Walter F. True	Randolph
Frederick Tupper	Burlington

Dr. L. Curtis Turner	Boston, Mass.
Rev. Leo Leonard Twinem	Sharon, Conn.
George B. Upham	W. Claremont, N. H.
Frederic F. Van de Water	Brattleboro
Clara C. Votey	Proctor
Alice V. Waite	Wellesley, Mass.
Dr. Frederick C. Waite	Dover, N. H.
Miss Adah S. Walker	W. Rutland
Laurence Walker	Charlotte Hall, Md.
Hally T. Waller	Akron, Ohio
Francis M. Walsh	St. Johnsbury
Miss Dorothy C. Walter	Lyndonville
Mrs. Wilhelmina S. Walter	Washington, D. C.
Mrs. Mary Spargo Wardwell	Burlington
A. E. Warner	Akron, Ohio
Edward S. Warner	Springfield
Edward W. Warren	Orford, N. H.
Mrs. Gertrude Vinton Warren	Orford, N. H.
William Homer Warren	Moretown
Charles D. Watson	St. Albans
Arthur Watt	Montpelier
John E. Weeks	Middlebury
Dr. Stephen A. Welch	Providence, R. I.
Davis L. Wells	Orwell
Dennis V. Wells	Alburg Springs
Miss Eleanor Wells	Montpelier
Frank R. Wells	Burlington
Rev. Oscar B. Wells	Williamstown
Wesley R. Wells	Moravia, N. Y.
George C. West	White River Jct.
Dr. John B. Wheeler	Burlington
George E. Wilber	Williamstown
The Wilbur Library, University of Vermont	Burlington
Arthur B. Wilder	Woodstock
Percival Wilds	New York, N. Y.
Benjamin Williams	Proctor
William H. Wills	Bennington
Stanley C. Wilson	Chelsea
Gen. Leonard F. Wing	Rutland
Harry W. Witters	St. Johnsbury
Robert P. Woods	Woodstock
Charles H. Wright	Grafton
Capt. George B. Wright	Orwell
Miss Rebecca W. Wright	Montpelier
Mrs. Sylvia B. Wright	Dorset
William D. Young	E. Aurora, N. Y.

POSTSCRIPT

Ultimum verbum non dico

VERMONT should be a rich hunting-ground for students and writers interested in men and women of historical significance. It required courage and vision to hew homes and a state out of the early wilderness; and later on in the shaping of the commonwealth strength of character and vigor of mind were needed. Perhaps it is time that the ceaseless pounding away on Ethan Allen should cease and attention be given to other Vermonters who contributed vital even if less colorful values to our history. Mr. Bassett in the course of special research in another field became interested in Van Ness, and the result is we have a valuable and interesting study of a Vermont leader well worthy of our attention. Mr. Bassett writes that he has recently discovered important material in the Van Buren papers in the Library of Congress; material is available also on the Van Ness mission to Spain and the New York collectorship. I hope we may be able to publish Mr. Bassett's concluding paper covering his findings in the material referred to. Mr. Bassett is a graduate of Yale, and has done graduate work in history at Yale, University of California, and Harvard. He was a collector of Vermontiana for the Wilbur Library, University of Vermont, for two summers, and is now associated with the National Archives, Washington, D. C.

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There is something about the word "report" that seems to be repellent, but I hope our readers will not merely skim or dodge the reports in this issue which were given at our annual meeting. Very few Vermonters, no matter who they are, seem to have any clear idea of the scope and character of the work of the Society, and I often hear comments made by so-called influential Vermonters which reveal an abysmal ignorance of the significance of the Society's undertaking. President Gay's report gives us an impressive record, supported by the packed information of Mr. Hoyt's report. It is hard to believe that the attendance record for a year is 16,000, that the recorded use of books reaches a figure of over 37,000. If some genius could evolve a method by which the tangible and intangible results

of the coming of so many to the Society's rooms and the use and study of so many books could be put into neat columns like a report on the number of cattle raised in Vermont, the impact of such information would make the securing of ample funds for the Society's work an easy task. But until such a method is created, we must rest on the understanding of the intelligent and informed to keep much splendid work alive that cannot be measured by the factual formulas of the market-place and the forum.

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I am still puzzled by the fact that our membership, while steadily gaining, stands at the low figure of 447. Surely there must be in Vermont and outside 553 native Vermonters, adopted, marginal or transferred ones, who will support the work outlined in the reports to the extent of a membership of two dollars. At least, we should have a membership of 1,000. Mr. Hoyt has prepared a booklet which covers the full range of the Society's interest, and if any member would like a few to send to friends who read and ponder something besides newspaper headlines, the booklets will be sent on request to the Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier, Vermont.

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Charles Miner Thompson, the author of the recently published *Independent Vermont* [Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, $4.50], was a familiar figure in the Society rooms where he did most of his research for his book. His first intention was to write a history of Vermonters as a distinctive folk, and I am inclined to regret that he did not follow his first vision, for he was the man to write such a history —not only because his background was deep in Vermont sources, but also because years of editorial and writing experience had given him a sense of the fit word. As he did not happen to tell me the reason for his shift of viewpoint, I cannot account for the change; but his *Independent Vermont* will find its place in the abiding books that are written with scholarly understanding and full faith in a loved theme. The book will be carefully reviewed by a competent reviewer in an early issue.

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A certain American sculptor, weary probably of hearing so much about the Pilgrims, once remarked that he understood the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock, but he wished the rock had landed on the Pilgrims. The question of the personnel in the Ticonderoga expedi-

tion of 1775 under Allen has been a bothersome one, and the desire of many a Vermonter to claim a fighting ancestor in that personnel has increased Allen's force to a sizable army. With the publication of the list of men present, as based on actual evidence, the old question will be settled. This list will be published later by the Society.

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The Greeks had a name for it, and I wish the Greeks could be blamed for the cerebral aberration which led me to state in the last Postscript, in connection with a note on Emma Willard, that she founded the first normal school in Troy, N. Y. Being a descendant of good men and true who helped chase Yorkers back where they belonged, I am not inclined to give New York credit for much more than the law and historical fact allow, and I most certainly—to cool off hawkeyed readers who spotted my error—do know that the first normal school was founded in Concord, Vermont, in 1823. Concord, now a pleasant little village of 353 people, was settled in 1788, and the appearance of the normal school idea forty years later in a remote, northeastern community is a fact in itself pregnant with meaning.

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As the tempo of war rises around the earth and our civilization moves to its final triumph or destruction, the tendency to regard efforts to preserve any cultural values as a minor matter will become more pronounced in all probability, and the tragic words, "for the duration," will mean the end of striving for much that is good, true, and beautiful. Those of us who have faith in the ultimate success of the armed forces that stand for a Christian civilization and who will sacrifice willingly for that end, must remember also to maintain a few watches on the hills. Here in Vermont, in no matter how humble the ways, the work of the Society should grow and expand in wider service, and it should find many who will take their turn in the watch hours.

A. W. P.